The Congregational Quarterly

EDITORIAL

QUEEN ELIZABETH II will go to her coronation in Westminster Abbey on 2nd June accompanied by the prayers, as well as the cheers, of the thoughtful and believing among her loyal subjects . . . to her shall be given of the gold of Sheba: prayer also shall be made for her continually. In her lonely eminence Her Majesty is supported by a happy family and the wisdom of great counsellors, but the knowledge that a world-wide company of her people continually commend her to the grace of God will strengthen and sustain her as nothing else can. For she goes to Westminster Abbey not merely to provide a superb spectacle, not merely to demonstrate the power, the splendour and the unity of Great Britain and the Commonwealth to the world, but to assume the high dignities of her exalted rank in the presence of God and to consecrate the powers with which she is invested, the influence she will exert throughout her reign, to the service of God and her people. She knows, as indeed she has already declared in her memorable address to the youth of the Commonwealth at her coming of age, that the Queen of England is raised high above her people in order that she may more effectually serve them. We in Britain and the nations of the Commonwealth demand of the Queen a life-long and whole-hearted dedication. At her coronation Her Majesty pledges herself to that service. When the Sword of State is offered to her, she places it upon the altar and redeems it with vows of service to God and her people. These are the terms on which, in loyalty and love, we accept the majesty of kingship now. But none has the right to make so high demands upon any other, even upon a Queen, unless he is no less ready to accept them for himself. The coronation of Her Majesty Queen Elizabeth II may well be not only a great occasion in the life of the country and the Commonwealth, but a great example and inspiration to all her subjects everywhere. Loyalty to a dedicated Queen is to accept our share of her dedication. Let that be the measure of the sincerity of the great cry that will resound through the Abbey and re-echo round the world,

GOD SAVE THE QUEEN

It is an interesting and happy circumstance that in the coronation procession of the dignitaries of the Churches, we Congregationalists shall be represented by the Chairman of the Union of England and Wales, Mr. Ebenezer Cunningham. Thus, without disrespect to Her Majesty and with perfect courtesy towards the eminent ecclesiastics who play so great a part in the ceremonial, we are able on a great occasion, through a distinguished layman of our choice, to witness to a truth of the Gospel which is so near our hearts.

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Archbishop Lang's quite understandable reason for refusing to allow any representative of the non-Anglican Churches to have a part in the Abbey ritual was that the coronation service was developed within the context of the Anglican order for Holy Communion. Into the 'nice and important' discussion about the actual forms to be used we have no desire to enter. But such discussions are taking place, as indeed they must, for great changes are taking place in the world and in the Commonwealth. Her Majesty is to be crowned Queen of this realm, which includes the remaining colonies and protectorates, but also of Canada, Australia, New Zealand, South Africa and Ceylon. These changes are probably too recent to be reflected adequately in the ceremonial in June, and we pray there will be many happy and glorious years before these questions need be raised again.

Men, even Churchmen, are ever tenacious of their privileges and rarely surrender them till they must. But what an opportunity for the Anglican Church is here! History provides both examples and warnings. We venture the hope that the long years of Her Majesty's reign will provide opportunity for such agreeable development of the coronation ceremony as will give due recognition to the care of the monarchy for its world-wide dominion and its loyal and serviceable non-Anglican subjects.

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The great concourse of visitors we shall receive in this country this summer will see a people still struggling. But we are "old strugglers", like the apple woman on London Bridge, who delighted Dr. Johnson by describing herself so. There are, we believe, some signs that we are recovering faith in ourselves. The problem of the 'dollar gap' still remains critical, and we know we cannot solve it alone. When it is fully recognized that we are as necessary to the United States as she is to us, it will not be beyond the wit and wisdom of statesmen and their advisers to pull us out of our difficulties without pulling anybody else in.

Our difficulties are not only financial, though they are with us always. The Chancellor of the Exchequer has recently stated in the House of Commons that the purchasing power of the £ in 1952, taking 1938 as 100, was 44, and taking 1945 as 100 was 74; and an eminent economist has stated that unless the rising spiral of wages and costs can be stopped, a new devaluation will be forced upon us within two years. The continuing danger to the whole national economy is more properly discussed elsewhere. Here we may be forgiven for calling attention to the ever increasing strain that is being placed upon all voluntary works, and especially upon the Free Churches. We shall take a long time to die of starvation, but a long period of malnutrition will weaken the work of evangelization and of maintaining and improving the moral standards of the people of this country. A deepened sense of responsibility within the churches must precede a deepened sense of responsibility without. In our present situation, indeed, that is one of the most important signs of grace, and it can no longer be taken for granted anywhere.

But as well as all this, we are deeply involved in the problems of working out new relationships between our white civilization and the African peoples. In Kenya the outbreak of savagery is a revelation of what stark evil can still exist among primitive people at a time when 'colonialism' is being linked with 'imperialism' as the enemy of human life and hope. If the premature end of 'colonialism' means that modern technologies are to be acquired by people with no religious and cultural foundation to sustain them, then the outlook is grave indeed. The spirit of British policy in the African Protectorates has long since been far removed from the crude exploitation of subject peoples. Indeed, the main objection to the proposed federation in Central Africa is precisely that under the scheme the Protectorates are to be withdrawn from the direct control of the Colonial Office. What African opinion is vocal is against the scheme, not because the present status of the African is lowered but because it is feared that it will be stabilized at the present level. And the case for federation is, of course, bedevilled by the evidence from South Africa of a White minority determined to use every resource to maintain a relationship of White, Black, Coloured and Indian at a level which, even if it represents present facts, denies any hope of development in responsibility to all non-Whites. We cannot discuss here the issues that lie in these grave problems, but we hope our readers will study the careful statement about the proposed federation put out by the Africa Committee of the London Missionary Society in February. To count heads, or even votes, is not the only basis of government. Indeed it is only possible among people who have developed an adequate sense of responsibility in community. But the only known way of learning

responsibility is to practise it, and to condemn to perpetual subservience in their own country people who are capable of development, and who, from time to time, produce individuals capable of taking their place in any society, is to sin against the light, and to accumulate such trouble for our successors as our slave-trading ancestors laid up for us.

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We confess that our withers were unwrung by the strident protests of certain Roman Catholics, led by Mr. Evelyn Waugh, against the reception of Marshal Tito on the ground that he persecutes the Christian religion. It is not, indeed, that we have any great affection for him, but he has shown an admirable courage in defying the brutality of the Kremlin. If his picture of Stalin is true, which he draws in his recently published book, *Tito Speaks* (a hateful title)—and we have no reason to think it is not—then a great part of the world is under the control of a tyranny as brutal as anything that was suffered under the Roman Empire. In case of need, Tito will certainly be more useful as friend than as enemy, or even as neutral. This is surely a case where he that is not against us is with us.

As for the Roman Catholic complaints, we, of course, loathe persecution in any form and for any reason. But we can understand Tito's objection to personages, who acknowledge an overriding allegiance to an external authority, exercising political pressure. Even in this country we know something of these pressure groups. It is admittedly unlikely that the Vatican will come to terms with the Kremlin, but who is to say that it is impossible? We do not forget the concordat with Hitler, nor Stalin's agreement with him. And when one reflects upon the persecuting zeal of the Roman Catholic Church in Spain, in Italy, and in South America, how strange a thing it is that so devastating a satirist as the author of *The Loved One* should demand indignant sympathy from those who, when they ask for the barest modicum of religious freedom, receive only repression from him and his friends.

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We Congregationalists look forward to receiving some of our friends from overseas at the meeting of the International Congregational Council to be held at St. Andrews in June, whose spirit and purpose were admirably described in our January number by Dr. Berry. In recent issues we have published papers giving some account of Congregationalism in America, Australia, India and Scotland. In this issue we print papers from Dr. Douglas Horton, the Moderator of the Council, who has recently completed a journey round the world and has some heartening things to say, from the Reverend Ralph Calder who was lately in South Africa, from Dr.

Heering of the Dutch Remonstrant Church, and from Dr. Carl Schneider who describes the United Protestant Church of the Palatinate, to which a group of ministers and laymen and women paid a very happy visit last summer. The Council offers its fellowship not only to those of the Congregational name, but to all who share its ecumenical spirit.

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It is at first sight remarkable that one of the results of the Ecumenical Movement is that all the constituent Churches have been stirred into a new consciousness of their own faith and witness. Yet this is far from being a denial of a truly ecumenical spirit. Under the pressure of the world situation we are all compelled to look into our hearts, to examine our beliefs and the reasons for them, and to scrutinize our history. Even allowing for the tenacity with which men cling to beliefs which are merely traditional, historically unsound, or even inherently absurd, it is impossible not to think that this examination of faith and form will reveal some of the wood, hay, stubble, as well as the gold, silver and costly stones that have gone into the building of our various denominations. Already it is clear that no one church order or organization can, or ought to hope to, become dominant. Even if an ecclesiastic like the Bishop of Monmouth can assert the claim of the Church of England to be the one—and only—Holy Catholic Apostolic Church —and the rest of us are interlopers—he must add "in this country." Even he cannot claim such exclusiveness in the great spaces of the world, so that the Church of England, if a national church, is still a local church. We once worked alongside an Anglican clergyman, of a very different theological school from the Bishop of Monmouth, whose charge to his clergy we have just read with real grief. This clergyman withdrew his support from the Bible Society because it had, as he said, "published a modern version of the Scriptures in India." He refused to elaborate his views on the translation work of the Society, or of translation work in general, and we went away from an interview with him under the impression that he believed the English Authorized Version of the Bible to be the only word of God to mankind. There are some in all confessions who seem to canalize the grace of God along the only channel of which they have any understanding, or for which they have any affection. "Do not forget the variety of human nature," said Kant. "For the love of God is broader than the measures of man's mind," sang Faber, and we with him. By the grace of God, and perhaps through the agency of the Ecumenical Movement, the real unity of the Christian faith will find forms of expression for the truth which will be sufficiently comprehensive, without including error.

Most denominations exist because they have reason to hold in honour some part of the truth—some member of the body of truth, if the expression may be allowed, which has fallen into dishonour. No part is the whole. No member is the body. But because we are men, and ecclesiasticism has its own temptations, many of us are like the eye which says to the hand, I have no need of thee, or again the head to the feet, I have no need of you. But the eye, the head and the feet, being parts of the body, must each realize its own function and fulfil it, being at all times a part of the body. In short, each denomination with a contribution to make to the life of the whole Church must know what it believes and what it does, until it shall please God to answer our prayers for the wholeness of the Church in His own way. We Congregationalists are among the least denominational or confessional of the churches. But our faith is not negative. We deny what we do deny only in order to proclaim more clearly what we do proclaim. And there are others with different gifts, a different history, a different contemporary situation, who do not use our name, nor we theirs, but who say to us, as we say to them, We will go with you, for we have heard that God is with you.

So we wish well to the International Council in its deliberations at St. Andrews on Congregational Churchmanship, and welcome the presence and the contributions of those from other lands, who are of like mind and spirit with us.

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Lancashire Independent College is this year celebrating its 'triple jubilee' by looking back to its modest beginnings in Roby's Academy which opened in January 1803 with four students. The Dissenting Academies of the late seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries have long been the pride of Nonconformists, and rightly so. The second half of the eighteenth century saw the beginning of a new kind of academy for ministerial students with the founding of Heckmondwike Academy by James Scott in 1756. A great stream of students began to go out to the Independent churches and to carry the Evangelical Revival more fully into Independency. William Roby's story is a remarkable one. He came into Independency from the Church of England through the Countess of Huntingdon's Connexion, and ministered in Manchester for thirty-five years until his death in 1830. He was one of the founders of the London Missionary Society and also of the Lancashire Congregational Union. But his greatest work was done in training men for the home ministry and for the mission field. From his own church, Cannon Street, Manchester (afterwards moved to Grosvenor Street) he sent out twelve people for service with the

London Missionary Society and was responsible for training several others preparatory to their appointment as missionaries. Robert Moffat was the brightest star in this company, but among them, also, was Samuel Harper, who sailed on the *Duff*, and was one of the first three martyrs of the Society.

Roby was the unpaid tutor of the Academy which met in the vestry of the old Mosley Street Meeting House (the vestry was the birthplace of the Lancashire and Cheshire Congregational Unions also). Robert Spear, a Manchester merchant, was the patron who financed the lodging of students and the library. The enterprise lasted for only five years but was later succeeded by Leaf Square Academy, and then Blackburn Academy—both in direct succession, and both guided by Roby, though he refused the office of tutor at Blackburn. It was in 1843 that Blackburn Academy was transferred to Manchester and became Lancashire College. In all, during the years of the Academy and afterwards, Roby trained nearly thirty men for the ministry and trained them well. The best illustration of the training they received is in the story of Thomas Jackson who, though married and with three children, was one of the first four students. When he began his first ministry of fourteen years at Wharton near Bolton (at a stipend of £32 a year) the Anglican curate, determined to show up the pretensions of the new minister, sent him a note in Latin asking for the loan of a Cicero, certain that Jackson would be able neither to read Latin nor to provide the book. Jackson sent him a copy immediately with a courteous note in Greek which the curate could not read.

In the century and a half since Roby began his Academy about seven hundred students have been trained for the ministry at home or abroad in Mosley Street, Leaf Square, Blackburn and Whalley Range where the present buildings are, and where his portrait, as founder, hangs in an honoured place.

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A little American lady was 'doing' Westminster Abbey one afternoon in the last tourist season, but doing it with a difference that slightly non-plussed her guide, who thought he knew all the kinds of tourists there are. She was interested in everything, appeared anxious to miss nothing, but kept a lively silence as if waiting for something he did not say. When at last his long recitative was coming to an end she raised her hand, looked round and with a quick gesture that included everything, the tombs of kings, the monuments of poets and statesmen, and 'the storied windows richly dight', she spoke, "Young man, stop your chatter and tell me, *has anyone been saved here lately?*"

WHAT MAY WE HOPE FOR IN SOCIETY?

By John C. Bennett, D.D.

Within the past half-century men in the western world have plunged from the highest expectations that they have ever held concerning their future in this world to the darkest fears that they have ever know concerning that future. This change has taken place in the minds and hearts of many of us. In the United States the change has been more recent than in Europe. Even now the older expectation lives on in the minds of many of the older generation, who have not been able to revise their earlier hopes with consistency. The younger generation in America has the reputation for shielding itself against disappointment by avoiding high expectations, and for a kind of numbness in the face of the darker prospects that may lie ahead of it.

This change of outlook in regard to the future has taken place within the churches as well as in the secular mind. Liberal Christianity shared the belief in progress that came to dominate the culture. It often gave New Testament sanction to this belief by identifying the Kingdom of God with a new social order in history. It is only fair, however, to recognize that much liberal Christian thought preserved some checks on this expectation. For one thing, the warnings of prophetic religion emphasizing the conditional character of social advance were often heard. Also, Christian liberalism did not cut itself off from an other-worldly hope. The death of the individual person was taken seriously as a problem for faith, and personal immortality continued to be affirmed by most Christian liberals. But when all such allowances are made, it remains true that liberal Christians did identify Christianity with secular illusions about the future to a marked degree. Sometimes the faith in the historical future, so far as emphasis was concerned, took the place of all distinctively Christian conceptions of sin and redemption.

There are at least three forms of this optimistic belief in progress which we should reject.

(1) There was the tendency in some Christian circles to make the expectation of progress the substance of religious faith, and to substitute it for Christian faith in a clear-cut manner outside the Church. The idea of progress that had its source in the Enlighten-

ment was deliberately conceived of as an alternative to belief in divine providence and to Christian ideas of redemption. It became a self-sufficient faith. This has had so much attention in recent discussion that I need not elaborate it. There can be no doubt that, though this view of progress does depend upon the Biblical assumption of the importance of human history, it is a complete distortion of the Biblical outlook. It is opposed to Christianity, and is the source of morally destructive illusions in its denial of a transcendent source of judgment upon history. The subordination of most generations, during the long and painful struggle of humanity, to those happy generations whose lot will fall near the fulfilment of history is always one of the weaknesses of any such religion of progress. All our thinking about the future should do justice to the idea so well expressed by Professor Herbert Butterfield when he says: "So the purpose of this life is not in the far future, nor as we so often imagine, around the next corner, but the whole of it here and now, as fully as it ever will be on this planet."[1]

(2) We must reject the idea that progress is inevitable. This was given its strongest support by the conception of biological evolution. It often involved the tendency to deal with human history as though it were an aspect of nature. It left no clear space for human freedom. And yet, I think that such criticisms are not always applicable. The idea of inevitable progress was often no more than the belief that the right must prevail. This was not a denial of human freedom but rather confidence that men would come to see and do the right. The religious form of this view was the idea that God could not be defeated in His ultimate purposes for human history. Here again the problem of freedom is not necessarily raised when faith is affirmed in God's capacity to win men to Himself. Other criticisms of the faith in the inevitability of progress are those which I shall outline in my consideration of the next view to be rejected, a less extreme view than belief in inevitable progress.

(3) This third type of expectation to be rejected is the assurance that the major sources of social evil can be removed in such a way that the gains that we make in removing them are secure. This view does not involve the idea of inevitable progress in all respects and it avoids the excesses of Utopianism. It is no more than the faith that the major obstacles to justice and freedom and peace among men can be overcome and that, when they are overcome, there will be no danger of falling back into the darkness of earlier periods. I suspect that, whatever conventional symbols of perfection in history may be used, most believers in progress would be glad to settle for this more sober expectation.

1 *Christianity and History*, p. 66.

But it is precisely this sober type of assurance—along with all Utopianisms—which has been taken away from our generation. As I reflect upon it, it seems clear to me that it is basically untenable and that our loss of it is not the consequence of some recent failure of nerve caused by Hitler or the atom bomb.

The classical Christian teaching about the universality and persistence of sin has not been the main *cause* of the rejection of this sober belief in progress though it is a *ground* for doing so. There are many shades of the historic doctrine, and its precise relationship to our problem was never fully developed in the New Testament because of a lack of interest in it. Not until men began to count on a future of indefinite length, and not until they became aware of the degree of change possible in social institutions was the issue raised that we now face. When we do consider some of the factors that make it difficult to believe in progress in this third sense, it becomes possible to see how they are related to Christian teaching about sin, and especially to one element in that teaching: *the recognition that the deepest roots of sin are spiritual, that it is on the higher levels of human development that the most destructive perversions of human life appear.* It is this aspect of the classical Christian understanding of man that helps us to understand our own moral frustrations and that is illumined by them.

There are two contemporary experiences which very vividly bring home to us the truth in this Christian teaching, and these two experiences in themselves have done most to destroy in many of us the confidence in secure progress by which we had formerly been guided.

The first is the realization that at the very moment in which the technical means of developing world community are available, and at the very moment when more people than ever are convinced that world community is essential if civilized life is to continue in the world, the division between two parts of the world has become so deep that we cannot now see any way in which it can be overcome. I do not say that it cannot be overcome, only that we cannot see the steps by which such a favourable change might come. The division is all the deeper because it is caused not only by differences of economic interest or by nationalistic rivalries but by a spiritual chasm that, for the present, destroys communication between those on opposite sides of the conflict. Other aspects of the situation illustrate the point that the most stubborn problems come at a high level of development. The very formation of larger and larger communities creates the possibility of more fateful forms of power. The world divided into two parts is in a more dangerous condition that if it were divided into many parts. Also, one result

of man's scientific development has been the production of weapons of war which threaten the existence of every form of moral and social progress. To the increased size of the units of power and the increased destructiveness of the weapons of war we must add many techniques for controlling the minds of men which modern rulers possess. This situation which I have been describing results from perversions of reason and of idealism, from the misuse of some of man's most remarkable intellectual achievements.

My second contemporary illustration covers much of the same ground but it suggests to me even more poignantly the way in which the idealisms of men can become the instruments of terrible evil. There has been remarkable progress in the concern for social justice and, in many countries, in the social and economic institutions which give effect to this higher sense of justice. There are some quite remarkable advances in the United States in this respect for which we should be very thankful. And yet the just aspirations of the under-privileged, and the generous idealisms of many of the privileged, have been changed into the means by which the most efficient and most oppressive of all tyrannies has been imposed on many nations. Today the spectacle of the new emancipations of Asia being twisted into this kind of cultural and spiritual tyranny is an appalling tragedy. It is possible that this whole Communist development may yet prove to be a "forced march," a phrase used in this connection by Professor Arnold Toynbee, to a more just and humane society. That is possible, but much can happen to prevent such a result. This is the same development that divides the human race and threatens it with global atomic war. The totalitarian tyranny itself does not necessarily lead to anything better. It may be destroyed by revolution, but what will follow the revolution? The factors in society that make the present situation possible will continue to be present—such factors as the larger units of power, the means of destruction and the techniques for controlling the minds of men. How can we ever expect to be insured against them?

The point which emerges from these two illustrations most clearly is that the most destructive social evils of which we have knowledge appear on what, according to any previous conception of progress, have been high levels of intellectual and moral advance. It now seems all too clear that the various over-all solutions of the social problem, which have been emphasized in the past two centuries by the believers in progress, are not solutions after all. I refer especially to the belief that education, the development of the social sciences, the spread of democratic institutions, or the socialization of property would be the saving factor.

Each one of these factors—education, the development of the social sciences, the spread of democratic institutions, and the

socialization of at least some forms of property—is greatly to be desired. My point is that each one of them creates new problems, and cannot by itself be regarded as a self-sufficient solution. Education, for example, is a great good, but it will always be difficult to get the right educators, and there is no way of insuring that the educational process will not be perverted by those who have most political or economic power.

There are two other general considerations which support what has been said so far concerning the difficulty of believing in progress even in the third sense. The first is the fact that all solutions of social problems create unexpected new problems. The balance between such social values as freedom and order is very delicate, and it is natural that changes that seem good in themselves are made at the expense of one of these values in ways that are not fully understood in advance. An experimental shifting of emphasis from time to time in a reasonably stable society is to be expected and desired. But hazards become greater as the units of power become larger and the instruments of power more efficient. Such long term trends as the development of technology, the increase of living standards, the growth of leisure, the elaboration of the mass media for entertainment and communication—all these create new and perplexing problems. They may be external problems, which make the advances somewhat self-defeating (for example, the parking problem in New York), or they may be problems of the spirit, such as the development of the 'mass mind,' the clutter of things and stimuli, the loss of stable personal relations and of the sense of community. In these respects—as well as in the case of the more spectacular wars and tyrannies—so much of what seemed to be progress now disappoints. But there is no turning back, and it is our responsibility to do what is possible to redeem these instruments of 'progress.'

The second consideration is that spiritual advance from generation to generation is not dependably cumulative. Each generation has to learn its own lessons on the matters that are most important for its welfare. There is flexibility that is good in the fact that each generation rebels against its predecessor, but this very fact keeps moral gains from being secure. A strong spiritual impulse tends to lose momentum within a generation. If it is true, as I have suggested, that external gains are never secure gains, that institutional changes which promise much can be easily perverted if the spirit goes out of them, that in the precarious balance between freedom and order the responsible use of freedom and the self-disciplined exercise of power make all the difference—then, this fact that we cannot count with assurance on the preservation from generation to generation of the loyalties and the sensitivities and the

faith, which are the chief sources of the health of a culture or of a social system, is the factor which, more than any other, makes assurance concerning progress impossible.

So far I have been chiefly negative and have shown what we cannot believe about the future. Now as I turn to the things that we can believe, the result may seem less precise and, hence, anti-climactic. But my major interest in this article is to emphasize the elements of hope that remain.

There are no Christian guarantees of any particular good to be realized in the secular order, but there are Christian grounds for hope that man's cause in this world is no lost cause and that there will be significant embodiments of God's righteous purpose in human society. We cannot be sure of secure and cumulative progress in the moral quality of life or in the over-all welfare of the race. But every act of social justice, every corporate encouragement to the spiritual freedom of men, every achievement of true community is a gain, even if we cannot promise that it will be followed by more and more of the same. The enormous technical advance creates possibilities of good that did not exist before. Take as an example the extraordinary extension of the life span, the improvement of health, the relief of suffering which are the results of the advance of medicine. All of this is mostly gain, though length of life may often lead to greater frustrations, and in the total picture the means of healing may be outweighed by the instruments of destruction.

History is not merely a platform on which individuals are prepared for inward blessings or for eternal life. Nor, as a record of man's collective life, is history a story of a vast and unified success. But within it there have been, and there will be, many communal and institutional embodiments of justice and fraternity, which have value to the Lord of history. They are all of them partial, and marked by man's sin as well as by true loyalty and love. If they pass away they remain as possibilities to be realized again. The record of them inspires generations that know them only as a memory. To work for such communal and institutional embodiments of justice and fraternity is to serve the Kingdom of God, even though that Kingdom far transcends them and by it all are judged.

The grounds for social hope which we find in Christian teaching are of two kinds—one related to God's creative work and the other to Christian redemption.

If we take seriously the idea that God is the creator and Lord of history, it is natural to infer from this that the structure of life is favourable to the continuation of His creative work. The belief

that all men are made in God's image, and the fact that Christians are encouraged to stress their own sin rather than the sins of other men, should undercut any tendency to cynicism about humanity in general. Calvin was surely right, as far as he went, in allowing for 'common grace' in social life. In spite of a very dark view of the deformity of fallen man, he was able to write: "as man is naturally a creature inclined to society, he has also by nature an instinctive propensity to cherish and preserve that society; and therefore we perceive in the minds of all men general impressions of civil probity and order."[2] Augustine's insistence that there is no man "so wholly abandoned to turpitude, but he has some feeling of honesty left him" is similar. Augustine goes on to say that the devil must "change himself into an angel of light (as we read in the Scripture that he will do)" if he is to effect fully "his intention of deceit."[3] I suspect we can give illustrations of this stratagem of the devil used with masses of people which would have surprised Augustine!

A somewhat different phase of this basis for hope in God's creative work is the tendency of evil to be self-destructive. This has long been emphasized as a phase of the divine judgment in history. There is no comforting assurance that the process of judgment may not destroy most of the forces that make for good as well as those that make for evil, but there is strong pressure at work upon men today which causes them to see that they must find ways of living together more justly or perish. This kind of pressure, by itself, is not likely to bring men to a better society, but it has its positive value when combined with other motives. It is never good for men to be driven by fear of retribution alone, but there is a place for the sober recognition that much that is demanded of us by a Christian conscience is in line with the necessities of our existence.

We can see this process at work in international relations today. I have emphasized the tragic character of the East-West split in the world but, in spite of that, we can say that the world has been brought closer than ever before to a recognition of the futility as well as the moral horror of war. There is fear in this and there is sheer fatigue in it. But there is also a widespread will to peace, the importance of which can be seen from the fact that the Communists can play on it so successfully. There is a sober understanding that no one can win a war under modern conditions. There is a resolve that the 'incidents' that would have led to war in an earlier period must not be allowed to do so now. All of this is important preparation for the development of the institutions of world community. The beginnings of those institutions that we have in the United Nations cannot prevent a war from developing

2 *Institutes,* Bk. II, Chap. ii, 13. 3 *The City of God,* Bk II, Chap. 26.

out of the East-West split but, if by any means we can find a way to overcome that obstacle, there is reason to hope that the United Nations may become an effective structure for the world community.

The interaction between these broad grounds for hope that we find in the creation itself, and the redemptive forces that have been released as the result of the work of God in Christ, is the heart of the matter. If we had only the redemptive forces to which to appeal, it is likely that we would think only in terms of a remnant to be saved out of the world. But it is the faith that the God of redemption is also the Creator of the world which enables us to hope for more than that.

There is a quite remarkable converging of Christian thinking today, including New Testament studies, on the idea that the powers of the Kingdom of God are already present within history. This emphasis upon the present Kingdom is a more significant development in contemporary theology than the more widely publicized emphasis upon the hope for a future Kingdom beyond history or a sophisticated conception of the 'second coming.' This idea of the present Kingdom often takes the form of the rather difficult conception of the invasion of the future into the present, or the overlapping of present and future. Bishop Nygren in his commentary on *Romans* has expressed this idea most convincingly. It is supported in different ways by Professor C. H. Dodd and Professor Oscar Cullmann. Dr. John Baillie, in his *Belief in Progress,* bases his own hopeful future on Cullmann's reconstruction of New Testament eschatology. He emphasizes the point that the New Testament Church, in spite of its foreshortened view of the future, did expect that all men would have a chance to hear the Gospel before the end. This is suggestive when we realize, as Baillie does, the possible social consequences of such widespread communication of the Gospel. We have to put the New Testament faith into a context that differs from the New Testament context at two points; the expectation of an indefinitely prolonged future and our better knowledge of the population of the whole world.

It seems to me that the strongest New Testament basis for hope for society is to be seen in the broad implications of this idea that the redemptive powers of the Kingdom of God are present in history. The interaction of the redemptive powers of the Kingdom with the factors that are favourable to social good in creation becomes relevant to our social hope when we see it in the context of an indefinitely prolonged future.

As I have warned so often, there is here no guarantee of any particular social good, but at least there is ground for hope that in ways beyond our present understanding the powers of the 'age to

come,' the work of the living Christ, the influence of the Holy Spirit, the impact of that within the Church which Dr. Paul Tillich calls the "New Being" will break through many of the obstacles in the secular order to transform and transform again the kingdoms of this world. Within human history we may not see the Kingdoms of this world become the Kingdom of God, but we may see among them in many places and at many times communities, institutions and corporate acts of justice, which truly embody the grace and power of that Kingdom.

To make this idea concrete I shall refer to a recent event which had in itself some of the characteristics that such embodiments of the Kingdom must have. It is an event that took place outside the sphere of what is usually regarded as Christendom. It is an event that seems to me to symbolize most of the real gains that have been made in recent history. I refer to the recent Indian general election, in which a large proportion of the electorate voted, and which was remarkably free from corruption. Let us grant that universal suffrage is no panacea, that the new institutions of India are quite precarious, that the people may vote themselves into totalitarianism. I accept all those reservations. But does it not remain true that this event was a symbol of the human dignity of all persons, of their participation in the common life, of their will to be free from the control of another people? This event was an affirmation of human dignity and human rights against the background of most of the ways in which these have been outraged—by the rule of one nation over another, by the racial pride of the white man, by the institutions of caste and untouchability, and by the assumption of male supremacy. What had the redemptive work of Christ to do with this event? There was little direct influence from the Church in bringing it about, but it is unlikely that such an election could have taken place without the indirect influence of Christ upon Indian leadership and, we may add, without a Christian conscience in the country that yielded in time to Indian demands for independence. The acceptance of the importance of political action and the recognition of the essential equality of all human beings can be understood best against the background of such Christian influences. This event illustrates two aspects of every gain that is made in history. On the one hand, we know that it is insecure; on the other hand, we have good reason to thank God for it.

In conclusion, I shall bring together several considerations that need to be emphasized together.

1. The future should be regarded as open. There is no place for fatalism or for a dogmatic pessimism. Dr. Reinhold Niebuhr's phrase, "indeterminate possibilities," is a good way of indicating

what we should think about the future. We must not face particular problems, no matter how difficult, with the idea that nothing constructive can be done about them.

2. We should not put any less emphasis than in the days of liberal optimism on the importance of large scale events, of institutions. of the behaviour of social groups. These are important because of what they do to persons. When we speak of the collapse of a civilization we must think what this means in horror and frustration for countless persons.

3. We should avoid the tendency to allow many particular disappointments with the results of the great drive for social revolution, of which Communism is but one expression, to cause us to swing to the conservative extreme. In particular, this means that we should distinguish between Communism and the many efforts to bring about deep social changes which actually are an essential antidote to Communism. Disappointment with the poor when they gain power should not tempt us to be less critical of the older forms of privilege. Disappointment with the results of social planning should not send us back into a one-sided emphasis on the freedom of the individual. We should have known long ago that the social revolution in any one of its many forms is no panacea, that it brings with it many new problems, but that these problems are on a level on which new and precious possibilities of justice for the vast majority of human beings are present for the first time in history.

4. The meaning of what we do does not depend only, or even chiefly, upon our correct calculations about future consequences. Our intentions must be directed toward the future, and we have a responsibility to seek the best possible consequences. There is, however, a dimension here that has been suggested to me by Dr. Tillich's idea that "justification by faith" should be extended to the doubter.[4] Should not what Christians mean by "justification" be extended to the man who in perplexity makes decisions which may or may not have the results for which he hopes? They may be very fateful decisions. Something more than good intentions is necessary if we are to have Christian wholeness of spirit or even a troubled peace. This something more is faith that God will forgive us for the evil in our decisions and actions, and will use them and us for the fulfilment of His purpose in ways beyond our calculation. The *motive* for action should not be hope, but love for all the people whose welfare is at stake in what we do or leave undone. The *direction* of action does depend upon some measure of hope, for if there were no hope of results we would in most cases change the course of our action. The *morale* for action depends upon faith. Hope is important but it is subordinate to faith and love.

[4] *The Protestant Era*, p. xiv.

THE MEANING OF THE FOUR GOSPELS FOR CHRISTIANS TODAY

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My subject is academic, but it has behind it the very practical concern that the ordinary church member should be able to handle his Bible with trust, confidence and affection, and should know its power to build him up in the fullness of Christian discipleship.

We ought to admit at once that the ordinary Christian has not yet accepted in a positive way the historical criticism of the Bible. The evidence for this is to be found, firstly, in the fact that people cannot handle the Bible for themselves with real confidence, and so cannot appropriate its truth and power to more than a limited extent; and, secondly, in the ever renewed impulse to retreat to fundamentalism, in spite of the fact that intellectually fundamentalism has not got a leg to stand on.

Of course, negatively, we have all accepted historical criticism. A hundred years ago the inerrant authority of the Bible was sacrosanct in all Christian Churches. A long period of difficulty and suffering had to be endured before freedom to apply historical methods to the study of the Bible was conceded. But even yet we have not won through to a new positive popular basis of handling the Bible.

If the Bible is not infallible, then we must accept it as fallible. That must be our starting-point. When historical criticism began, it was pointed out that the term was a misnomer, and that historical criticism was not concerned to sit in judgment on the Bible, but to deal honestly and objectively with its details, and to come to the most illuminating explanation of what they meant. Anyone who cares to read Robertson Smith's *The Old Testament in the Jewish Church,* or Vincent Taylor's more recent *The Four Gospels,* will see that the aim of these studies is not to criticize the Bible, but simply to account for the features which the Bible actually contains.

But though it is not the function of historical criticism to criticize the Bible, the religious and theological judgment which takes account of its findings can and ought to do so. We must criticize the Bible in order to reverence it truly. We have to ask the ordinary Christian to make a more complicated judgment on the Bible than just a literal acceptance of the truth he reads. We have to ask him to make a judgment about its historical truth and its present relevance before he accepts it as God's word for him. He

needs help in order to do this, but I believe that it is both necessary and possible for him to do it.

There are three critical questions which we must bring to our reading of the Bible. The first is: Is this true history or, if not, has it an important symbolical significance, and is it important in the revelation of the Kingdom of God? The second is: Is this fairly said or rightly done in the circumstances of the time? And the third is: In what sense can this be said to be binding upon us here and now?

Now it may be thought that these questions put up an intolerable barrier between the readers and the text of the Bible. But that need not be so at all. If the answers are positive, if the passage is true history, fair and right in its own time, and binding upon us, then we accept it as it is, and are happy in doing so. In many of the most familiar passages of the Bible our critical questions find nothing to fasten on. But they are there implicitly in any right understanding of how to handle the Bible, and of how to find that treasure in it which is hidden from the casual observer.

How, then, are we to criticize the Gospels in order truly to reverence them and find in them the truth by which to live? What we have to do is to maintain the supernatural truth of God which they contain, while not accepting as literal truth those elements which we can only think of as legendary, however real they were to those who wrote about them. This, of course, is an important distinction. It is not easy to apply, and we ought to be quite clear as to what we mean by it. In using the term 'supernatural' I mean to mark out the truth, the claim and the power of God; for unless the Bible testifies of these as real and present to us it is worthless for our purpose.

In the Gospels there are three supernatural realities which are integral to their message, the presence of God in Jesus Christ, His conquest of sin, and His conquest of death.

The message of the New Testament is concerned with the revelation in and through the life, death and resurrection of Jesus Christ. In Him we believe that the inner heart of God has been revealed so that we can trust Him with complete confidence. We may find it hard to say what measure of revelation of the true God is to be found in other religions, but we cannot, at the heart of our faith, accept a sharing between Christ our Lord and some other manifestation of deity. He in Himself is inclusively all the truth of God, and He gives life to whatever there is of truth in other religions. He has in Himself a moral grandeur and a redemptive presence that represent the living power of the grace of God at work in the world. No understanding of the New Testament, which takes away from us the personal claim of God in Christ, has done justice to the record. The immense and awe-inspiring manifestation of God in

Christ, at once akin to the humblest and simplest manifestation of His presence, and also apart, unique and unrepeatable, is the centre of any confidence that we have in God.

The revelation of God in Christ is now, as it was then, a disturbing influence at the heart of man's aims and passions. His proclamation of the Kingdom of God either made men resist more stubbornly the claim of God upon them or made them want to go forward in a new life of service to God. In His lifetime Jesus Christ gave men power to live a new life of faith and hope and joy, and, after His conquest of death, His total life, focused in the suffering of the Cross and with the light of Easter upon it, has proved the greatest force this world has ever known of redemptive and transforming power. The evil in human hearts is often hidden deep and has deep roots. It is often something we try to ignore as though it did not matter. It is the power of Jesus Christ to overcome the sin of the human heart which we must clearly see as His great work, and nothing must be allowed to obscure either its immensity or its relevance.

Further, at the very centre of New Testament conviction is the belief that Jesus Christ conquered death. This opens a wider door of faith, freedom and hope, which can only be shut by doing violence to man's essential faith in God. There may be room for disagreement about the mode of Christ's victory over death, but hardly about the fact of it. We are confronted in the Gospels with a stupendous fact of incalculable significance. This is a pointer to that massive truth and power of God which we must either find in the Gospels, or fail to do them justice and to appropriate their riches to ourselves. No true understanding of the Gospels can minimize the supernatural reality of God for our lives.

What, then, do we mean when we speak about a legendary element? No one who compares our four Gospels with the apocryphal Gospels can doubt that we have reason for thankfulness that our trusted records are so sober, honest, restrained and trustworthy. But it still remains true that, when we try to assess their meaning by the standard of what probably happened, there are some features of the Gospel story, which came naturally to first century writers, which do not in the least come naturally to us. There are some elements in the Gospel story, which could be accepted literally in the first century, which we cannot accept literally today. It may be difficult to make a judgment about this but, if we are to commend the truth of Christ in the twentieth century, we must go forward and do it.

To a considerable extent, the question as to what is legendary is bound up with the question of miracles, at least in popular thinking. Now the difficulty about miracles is not scientific or philosophical. Provided that we know that they happened, it is

for science to explain them, and for philosophy to find the appropriate place for them in the scheme of existence. The real difficulty is historical. What justification have we for accepting as literally true the report of an alleged miracle? It is not a question of deciding between fact or fiction, but of ascribing the right proportion of truth in a description which is natural to the writer, but which may not be natural for us. Professor Dorothy Emmet in her chapter in Iremonger's *Life of William Temple*[1] says, "Difficulties in accepting particular alleged miracles follow not so much from theological or philosophical principles as from critical questions concerning the historical evidence and the psychological atmosphere of the societies in which such miracles are said to have happened." This is the real difficulty, and we must try to meet it.

Three types of answer are given by scholars. The first approach is to ask whether the miracles are in keeping with the Christian belief in Jesus Christ as Saviour and Lord. If they are, then their congruousness with Christian belief is accepted as the ground of their historical reality. Now we must accept the fact that the elements in the Gospel record which may be considered legendary *are* almost entirely in keeping with that Christian faith which is common to the first century and to the twentieth. The miracles which, in principle, cause a stop in our minds (for example the incident of the coin in the fish's mouth in Matthew XVII, 24-27) are very few. But the question is, can we accept the literal truth of an incident only because it fits in perfectly with Christian faith? One scholar, who largely accepts the miraculous stories of the Gospels as literally true because they accord with our faith in Christ, is Professor A. M. Hunter, as may be seen from his little commentary on the Gospel of Mark. But can the Christian mind come to rest in an attitude which simply dissolves any tension between naïve Christian belief and scientific historical thinking? What is important is that the issues should be resolutely faced. A half facing of them, and a half solution, neither gives the Christian confidence in handling his Bible, nor convinces the unbeliever that we mean what we say. Professor Hunter's solution of accepting all the stories as literally true will probably not last, nevertheless, if it did commend itself widely as the right historical judgment, it would be a perfectly proper solution of the difficulties.

A second way of meeting the difficulty is to avoid all questions of historical reliability and to concentrate on the symbolic meaning. Doubtless there are many new and fruitful things to be learnt about the symbolic meanings in both Old and New Testament, but this avoidance of the historical question is an evasion, and does not answer the questions that ought to be asked.

A third way of meeting the difficulty is to say that there is no common objective solution to the question of the historicity of

[1] p. 535.

Gospel incidents, and that every person must make up his mind for himself. This particular suggestion is at once the most exasperating and the most fruitful. It is exasperating because the very people to whom we are looking for guidance turn away from us and say: 'You must decide that for yourselves.' And we cannot. On the other hand, it is most fruitful because it lays down the principle that there is *no one common answer* to the question of the literal historical truth in Gospel stories which we must accept. There are a *number of ways* in which we can attempt to reconcile historical judgment and Christian faith.

What, then, is required to help the ordinary Christian to make positive historical judgments about the Gospels, and so reverently feed his life on the truth of God which they contain? I suggest that *what we need is a series of homiletic commentaries,* in which the main issues have been resolutely faced.

It is not to be expected that the majority of ordinary Christians will read such commentaries. But they will be read by those who preach and teach the Gospel, and will influence the bulk of ordinary Christians at second, third or fourth hand. Their function will be to clarify, illuminate and focus anew the existing homiletic tradition so that it operates with new power because the underlying issues, which are often covered up, have been faced and met.

But this clarifying and focusing of the homiletic tradition has still to be done. Whatever the urgent and inescapable problems of objective historical study, and however much we need the illumination which can only come from this source, our most vital need is not for more objective learning, but for practical homiletic judgment. Such judgment will be largely valueless, and certainly misleading, unless it is humbly, continuously and gratefully dependent upon objective historical scholarship, but it has in its own right a costly and rewarding discipline. To bring into effective action a homiletic tradition, in which the marriage of faith and historical judgment has effectively taken place, is of the first importance, and only by means of it—diluted in sermon and talk but available at popular level in its broad outline—can the ordinary Christian come to have an active confidence in the Bible.

And the difficulty of the task need not be exaggerated. However great the actual divergences between Christians as to how far they regard the stories in the Gospels as literally true history, it would not take more than a few expositions of the Gospels to make the various homiletic possibilities clear. The pendulum might swing backward and forward but there would come to be a reliable centre, and the divergences would tend to become smaller. For the preacher seeking guidance in his use of the Gospels no doubt one exposition rather than another would provide the basis of his general approach, though for some stories he would prefer an

exposition which accepted them more literally and for others an exposition which was much more sceptical about their historical truth. But if we accepted the fact of a variety of homiletic expositions which honestly assess the meaning and importance of the Gospels for Christians today, and made clear that what was common to them was more important than their differences, but that in every instance a judgment about historical truth on a believing basis had been sought and found, I believe that our homiletic tradition would grow in clarity and power, and would enable the ordinary Christian to have a confidence in the truth, importance, and relevance of the Bible which at present he does not possess.

The contention has been made earlier that the Christian must criticize the Bible if it is to yield up its treasure to him. He must ask whether it is true history, fair and right in its own time, and binding upon him. Now the preacher or teacher does know that these questions are being asked, and must know the answers on which he is relying in dealing with them. The attitude of the ordinary Christian will be intellectually a good deal vaguer, and his questions will be put and his answers accepted without much attention on his part to the intellectual processes involved in them. But if the homiletic tradition by which he is fed is facing and answering these questions, then he will instinctively apply the attitudes which have been suggested to him.

I turn now to some practical homiletic judgments of my own. The beginning of any serious understanding of the Gospels for us today is the *Gospel of St. Mark*. This is the earliest Gospel, and the surest historical record of the life of Jesus. We are grateful for its realistic treatment of the history which it records, with its recognition of the blindness of the disciples to the meaning of their Master's mission, and the vivid touches which light up the actual narrative. We find at the heart of it the mysterious portrait of a suffering Messiah, who in his human life and work hints at the presence within him of a supernatural Kingdom not wholly revealed. His way is not one of powerful domination, but of suffering redemption. This central contention of St. Mark's Gospel may present difficulties to men and women in the modern world, but it is hard not to think that they are difficulties which are essential to any presentation of Christian truth, and that the elements of this central contention are not imposed upon the history but go back to the mind of Jesus himself. It may well be that St. Mark has exaggerated Jesus' belief in the dramatic coming of the kingdom of the future (cf. VIII, 38, XIII, 32), but in principle the figure of Jesus given in the Gospel has the mysterious greatness both of history and of faith.

We cannot, however, read this Gospel with its irreplaceable

transmission of the experience of St. Peter, and its demonstration that the heart of the primitive proclamation of the Gospel was rooted in the mind of Jesus himself, without having to face the question of the legendary. Dr. Vincent Taylor has said, "The surprising thing about the Gospel of Mark is not that it contains legendary elements, but the small amount of these features, and this fact can be explained only by the restraint of the Evangelist and his use of early and valuable tradition."[2] It is indeed remarkable that the miraculous has so little place in the main lines of the story he tells. There are, however, legendary elements in the story of the Transfiguration; and the stories which give an account of the power of Jesus over the forces of nature (e.g. the stilling of the storm, IV, 35-41, the walking on the water, VI, 45-52, and, if it is intended to be a miracle, the raising of Jairus's daughter, V, 35-43), are not likely, in my judgment, to manifest their claim to be true history. These stories are symbolic presentations of the meaning of Jesus as the revelation of the God who is Lord of life and death, of nature and of human history, but we cannot place reliance on them as surely established facts.

In the account of the visit of the women to the empty tomb there is a legendary element. Indeed, whether we like it or not, we shall have to accept it as true that, though the fact of the Resurrection is essential to the whole witness of the New Testament, the mode of it is uncertain. Some Christians will accept most of the story of the Resurrection given in the Gospels as literally true, while for others the conviction of the reality of the Resurrection given to us by St. Paul, which seems independent of these stories, leaves the mode of it uncertain. Some uncertainty here may be distressing, but in the delicate adjustment of Christian faith and historical thinking, we must not ask to know more than is sufficient for our practical living, but must preserve, amid a variety of historical judgments, the essential bond of Christian conviction.

This is, perhaps, the point at which to say that the treasured accounts of the birth of Jesus contained in the first two chapters of *Matthew* and *Luke* cannot be relied upon as giving us assured factual history. For many Christians the traditional doctrine of the Virgin Birth will stand, and it has, of course, a symbolic fitness as testifying to the uniqueness of God's revelation of himself in Jesus Christ our Lord. But we cannot say that the history makes the doctrine absolutely necessary, and it played only a minor part in that Christian proclamation which is the heart of the New Testament. These chapters are still precious to us because they are the product of the early Christian conviction about Christ which we, too, share; and the note of exultant joy which breathes in the

[2] *The Gospel according to St. Mark*, p. 144.

hymns embodied in them are a testimony to something essential to any Christian thought about the birth of Jesus.

Matthew is of all the Gospels the least helpful as well as the most helpful to men and women today. St. Matthew is a teacher, and he has taken great pains to draw out explicitly the meaning of the Gospel records which he knew. He has gathered together the teaching of Jesus into five great blocks—the Sermon on the Mount in chapters V-VII, Directions to the disciples in chapter X, the Parables of the Kingdom in chapter XIII, sayings on Greatness and Forgiveness in chapter XVIII, and sayings and parables on the Last Things in chapters XXIV and XXV. These have proved a most effective means of communicating the teaching of Jesus. But what made *Matthew* so influential in the ancient world is, in part, that which reduces his value for us. He has his own point of view which both over-emphasizes the Judaic element in the teaching of Jesus, and is fiercest in its opposition to Judaism. And the pains which he takes to bring out the explicit meaning of the Gospel for his own generation is sometimes of profound illuminating value for us, but oftener something that obscures the historical truth from us.

Further, the special traditions on which St. Matthew relied contain some things of very doubtful value (as, for instance, in the accounts of the Crucifixion and the Resurrection). And the Gospel is full of depressing echoes of Jewish belief about the final state of man which cannot wholly be ascribed to Jesus himself, and which have had a profound and unhappy effect upon the Christian doctrine of the Last Things. Yet, even apart from that exposition of the teaching of Jesus which stamps itself happily and ineffaceably upon our memory, there is in St. Matthew's Gospel a majestic presentation of Christ as King of the world, which corresponds to the greatness of Christian conviction.

The *Gospel of St. Luke* is both less and greater than the *Gospel of St. Matthew*. It does not probe the inner heart of the Christian mystery as *Matthew* does, but it gives a universal presentation of the Christian story which, so far as it goes, speaks powerfully to the heart of man. St. Luke's Gospel is the people's Gospel with the most immediate appeal to the ordinary reader. St. Luke is an artist, and handles his material—the *Gospel of St. Mark,* the material common to himself and St. Matthew, and the special material peculiar to himself—with sovereign freedom. And yet that which is most distinctive of *Luke*—that which has won the affection of humble people for this Gospel in particular—may be trusted to go back to the mind of Jesus himself.

To the Markan outline of the Gospel history and the teaching which finds so notable a place in *Matthew,* St. Luke has added material of his own gathering, which relates the Gospel to all sorts

and conditions of men, and especially to the poor; which brings out the gracious attitude of Jesus to those who are at best tolerated, and at worst disapproved of, by the community—the outcasts, the sinners, the Samaritans, and the women; and which also emphasizes the demand and cost of Christian discipleship; and its joy through the power of the Holy Spirit. Some of the distinctive stories in *Luke*—one need only mention the parables of the Good Samaritan and of the Prodigal Son—are among the most widely known and best loved of all the Gospel records.

It may be that St. Luke in presenting the traditions of the life, death, and resurrection of Jesus to the Gentile world of his day, while remaining true to the broad lines of the Gospel proclamation, has not penetrated as deeply as some other Gospels into the inner secret of the mystery of Jesus; but what he has given, and in particular what he makes clear about the meaning of the Gospel in Christian living, is said with incomparable force and grace, and speaks as directly to the twentieth century as to the first.

Perhaps our most urgent need is for some confident way of handling the *Gospel of St. John*. While the first three Gospels tell the story in a common episodic way, the Fourth Gospel tells the story in a systematic, clear-cut way to bring the reader to the point of decision: if possible, for Christ as the truth of God and the only way for man; but if not, then—unhappily—against Him. It is not that the earlier Gospels give us the story of a human Jesus, without any theological concern and divorced from the ultimate manifestation of the Kingdom of God, but that in the Fourth Gospel this is focused to a clear-cut issue; the meaning of the Gospel story is brought home to the ordinary Christian with clarity and power to guide his life. The perplexity of modern scholars about the meaning of the Gospel, though quite inevitable because of the difficulty of the data, has been a great source of uncertainty and confusion in our homiletic tradition.

We must think of *John* as primarily an interpretation of the life of Jesus rather than as a direct factual account. The great concern of the Evangelist was: What did the life, death, and resurrection of Jesus really mean? It seems clear that the Evangelist took pains at certain points (for example, on the date of the Crucifixion) to correct the earlier traditions known to him; but it seems clear, also, that he was not very much concerned to reproduce exactly the processes of history, and was prepared to shape and present events in order to communicate the truth about Jesus as he knew it.

The combination of an insistence on factual accuracy at some points, and a creative, symbolic presentation of truths as stories at others, may seem an odd one, but it is not impossible, and it seems demanded by the facts. What has been said is not incompatible with the idea that the Fourth Gospel does preserve genuine

traditions about Jesus which are not recorded in the Synoptic Gospels; nor with the idea that much of the material in the Fourth Gospel was shaped by the tradition of the Church before it was written into the Gospel. But we should be prepared to accept the facts that for the history of Jesus we must go primarily to the Synoptic Gospels, and that the concern of the Fourth Gospel is to ask what the great reality that we discover there really means.

But is the Fourth Gospel *true*? The best way in which to answer this question is to estimate its truth in terms of the summary of it given in the great words: For God so loved the world that he gave his only begotten Son, that whosoever believeth on him should not perish but have eternal life.

God sent His Son—Jesus is presented in a remarkable series of images as God's Son. He is the Bread of Life, the Light of the World, the Door of the Sheep, the Good Shepherd, the Resurrection and the Life, the true Vine, the Way, the Truth, and the Life. He is the key to all God's dealing with us—the Word made flesh. And in the presence of affirmations of this kind we are brought to the point of decision. Is this what the life of Jesus meant and means? In its positive utterances about Jesus I believe the Fourth Gospel to be substantially right; and indeed, unless that is so, the whole meaning of the New Testament dissolves.

To this declaration that we must accept the substantial rightness of John's positive presentation of Jesus as the Son of God, two minor qualifications ought to be added.

It has been said earlier that the author of the Fourth Gospel, while passionate about the fact of history, is not very concerned about the processes of it; that, in his presentation of the Gospel history, he portrays the glory of God as openly manifest in the life of Jesus from first to last. But more than that, he presents Jesus as being openly aware of a continuous life which He shared with the Father from all eternity, which does not seem to be true of the historic Jesus. The roots of some elements in the understanding of the life of Jesus current in the early Christian centuries, which are the source of great difficulty to many students today, are to be found in the Fourth Gospel. But these are not essential to the truth that Jesus is the Light of the World, the Way, the Truth, and the Life for all mankind.

Further, the sharp lines and exclusive claims of the Fourth Gospel cause some difficulty to present day thought in view of the comparative study of religions. Can we hold the idea that Jesus has all life in himself and that there is no life in other religions at all? I think that we must hold on to the standpoint of the Fourth Gospel, but with greater recognition of what the Word of God, made flesh in Jesus, was doing in other religions. We can, if we like, though to our own grave spiritual hurt, say that Jesus is not

the Resurrection and the Life. But how can we say that Jesus plus a little of Confucius and some traces of Buddhism and Marxism is the Resurrection and the Life? Either we think of Jesus as just one in an undifferentiated series of manifestations of deity, or we must hold to the exclusive reality of Jesus, and out of His truth do full justice to all other manifestations of the religious life.

God sent His Son, according to the Fourth Gospel, so that we may have eternal life, or perish. I say nothing about eternal life here, because, if the Gospel is right about the Son of God, its teaching about eternal life is substantially true also. But what meaning lies in that word *perish*? Surely we must modify the harsh lines of John's Gospel! We do not want to sentimentalize about life, or to suggest that to reject God has no disastrous consequences. But the black of St. John's Gospel is very black indeed. 'He that believeth on the Son hath eternal life; but he that obeyeth not the Son shall not see life, but the wrath of God abideth on him' (III, 36). 'Ye are of your father the devil, and the lusts of your father it is your will to do' (VIII, 44). 'If a man abide not in me, he is cast forth as a branch and is withered, and men gather them and cast them into the fire, and they are burned' (XV, 6). It is hard to believe that this represents either the ultimate truth about those who rejected Jesus in His own life or the ultimate purpose of the love of God to redeem the children of men.

These, then, are some of the thoughts of one who has tried to find a way of handling the Gospels that would be at once believing and also rooted in historical truth and that would bring its practical claim and power to bear upon his own life.

There may be those who think that what is written here is unnecessarily critical of the literal truth of the Gospels. To them two things must be said. It may well be that some of these critical judgments will not stand, and that the Church will come to rest in a unity of faith and historical judgment which accepts as literal truth more than is suggested in this paper. But the questions which ought to be asked, and the criticisms which ought to be made must be really dealt with, because, if they are not, there comes about a festering in the mind both inside and outside the Christian Church. I have not invented either the disbelief of the man in the street in the authority of the Bible, or the lack of power of Christian people in being built up into the truth of the Gospel. In a real and living way we must convince people both inside and outside our churches that the Gospel of the Lord Jesus Christ is true and essential for life today; that we are not holding on to something that cannot be trusted in the light that is about us today; and that we know the truth and can be trusted to tell the truth.

EARLY ENGLISH DEVOTION

By Joan M. Frayn, Ph.D.

In this Coronation year our thoughts will often turn to the great moments in the history of our country. Perhaps therefore we may also study again the character and religious faith of the earliest Christian people in this island, which can be ascertained in some detail at any rate for the seventh century and later. There is always the confusion resulting from an admixture of surviving heathen beliefs and the Celtic and Roman traditions of Christianity, but this is characteristic of the situation. It serves to remind us of the many difficulties under which our fathers laboured.

Christianity had come to a country which was, by modern standards, sparsely populated, and lacking any but the most primitive forms of social integration. It spread among folk who wrested a hard living from fields and forests, with few diversions except primitive warfare and drunken feasts. For a people largely illiterate in a country of long nights and hard winters there must have been many temptations, and little encouragement to rise above the level of a merely animal existence. Again and again in the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle we read: "This year there was a great hunger," or "This was the year of the great winter."

Under such conditions what were the notable qualities of character, tradition and belief which our forebears developed? Here at least are three of them: a vivid recognition of the transitory nature of human life; a vision of judgment associated with a practical religion; and a unique ideal of human leadership. The first of these was familiar before the coming of Christianity, and in many cases the Christian preachers literally echoed the cries of the heathen poets. The characteristic word to describe human life and its appurtenances was 'laene', fleeting, and it was seldom used to greater effect than in "The Wanderer";

> Wealth is fleeting, friends are fleeting here,
> Man himself is fleeting, and his kinsmen too.
> All the frame of earth becometh vain. (ll. 106-110).

A man who could say this would not be surprised to hear from a Christian preacher: "Beloved, know ye that the truth is: this world is in haste and is nearing its end. . . ." (Wulfstan, *Sermo ad Anglos*), or again: "Everywhere this world fleeth from us with great bitterness, and we follow it, as it flies from us, and love it although it is passing away." (*Blickling Homilies*, Holy Thursday, trans. R. Morris). Perhaps Hrothgar (*Beowulf*, 1700 ff.) had already heard something of the new faith, but even so he sets forth the old belief very clearly. He tells how a man may be fortunate

in life and have all that he desires, and then, "when the Warden sleepeth", he grows proud and rapacious. "And at the last it often chances that his body, fleeting, faileth: he falleth, a doomed man."

The idea of the fey, or doomed, man belonged to the realm of 'wyrd', the fate which was all-powerful until the coming of our God, who in the Anglo-Saxon tongue was sometimes called, "wyrda Waldend", the Lord of the fates. The power of 'wyrd' and the inevitable doom of the 'fey' warrior is described later in the Middle English manuscript entitled, "The Proverbs of Alfred", which may belong to the early thirteenth century:

For nys no wurt wexynde
a wude ne a velde,
That ever muwe thas feye
furth upholde.[1]

The writer of this verse goes on : "Dryhten hit one wot"—God alone knows and is able to deal with it. It has been suggested (by B. S. Phillpotts, "Wyrd and Providence in Anglo-Saxon Thought", in *Essays and Studies,* XIII, 1927) that the early Anglo-Saxon peoples regarded the choice of evils which fate offered to their heroes as the only valid test of character. Though fate over-ruled men, they were morally superior in that they had been able to make a choice and had, although unsuccessful, striven to the end to implement it. To this extent the missionaries to England found the ground prepared for their teaching. Folk who loved justice in human affairs and admired courage may well have been glad to hear at last of a just principle over-ruling all. Christ was the heroic sufferer of their sagas, but His defeat was not final, and His was the unique story in which 'wyrd' did not conquer.

Henceforth man was no longer subject to Fate but to Judgment, and if the two seem at first rather alike we must not be surprised. Think of the haunting words quoted by Bede as he lay dying. They are given in Anglo-Saxon in St. Cuthbert's Latin letter, and seem to be traditional—"seeing he was skilled in our songs," as the writer of the letter remarks:

Ere he must journey
None can be wiser
Than shall his need be,
If he but ponder
Ere his departing,
What for his ghost may,
Evil or blessing,
After his death day
Judgment be bringing. (Trans. J. E. King.)

Always we are to look to the end of the world, when "the stars

1 For there is no herb growing in wood or field that can ever prolong the life of the doomed man.

all day shall run across our sight. And men may see them as plainly as at night when it freezes hard." (*Blickling Homilies,* trans. R. Morris, p. 92-3). In the description of this Judgment Day the words of the old poetry keep recurring: "No man need think that his body may or can amend the sin-burden in the grave; but therein he shall rot to dust and there await the great event (the Doom), when the Almighty will bring this world to an end, and when he will draw out his fiery sword and smite all this world through . . ." (*op. cit.,* p. 108-110). Here are compound words of the old style, some traditional such as "byrnsweord", the fiery weapon of the heroes, and some new but not wholly strange, such as 'synbyrthenna'. This Judgment is essentially a judgment of actions, God Himself being a 'daeda Demend'—judge of deeds. Even as the heroes were men of action, so are the saints, and so the individual Christian must be:— "Let the man who wishes to possess the joy of heaven always give duly his tithe to God, and yet distribute alms from the nine remaining parts, and give to poor men his table-leavings and his old clothes; then afterwards it shall be kept for him in the treasury of heaven." The responsibility is personal and it is local: "And as many poor men as die in the neighbourhood of the rich and wealthy man, and he will not give them a portion of his tithing, then he is guilty of all these men's death and a murderer before the high seat of the eternal Judge." (*Blickling Homilies,* The Third Sunday in Lent). The local application of Christian effort is emphasized in another portion of the same homily: "For no one need doubt this, that the forsaken church will not take care for those who live in her neighbourhood. . . ."

This practical attitude at its best is exemplified by the saints of the early English church as their deeds are recorded by Bede. Here we see Christians moving competently amid the emergencies of primitive life. To some extent this was to be expected, because the missionaries from Rome represented a higher stage of civilization than that achieved by their flock and, therefore, in some respects greater technical skill. Yet most of their practical achievements, as recorded by Bede, did not depend on any skill which had been learnt from Rome. They depended upon courage, enthusiasm, and inspired observation. There was Owini, who entered upon the monastic life equipped with an axe and a hatchet, and Bishop Wilfrid who taught the people of his diocese to catch fish: "the people had no skill to take them, except eels alone." Bishop John of Hagulstad laboriously taught a dumb boy to speak, and a medical writer of the twentieth century has this to say of the methods he used:

> ". . . . we see that the process was neither more nor less than an ingenious and rational system of education in speech,

> devised by the natural acuteness of the bishop, and aided by the power of sympathy or personal magnetism which that wonder-working saint must undoubtedly have possessed. For a case of functional aphasia (as this apparently was, for the boy was not a deaf mute) nothing could have been better." (J. F. Payne, *English Medicine in Anglo-Saxon Times*, 1904, page 26).

Men who acted like this knew that they lived in a universe where skill and intelligence count. Moreover, to judge from the following lines of *Beowulf*, this was a part of the Christian message which was understood very early:

> The Lord ruled over all mankind,
> As even yet he doth:
> Wherefore is understanding best,
> And prudent forethought everywhere. (ll. 1057-8.)

St. Cuthbert, we are told, when he went to reside on an uninhabited island, first, "with the assistance of the brethren," built a hut, with a trench round it. He then had a well dug for his water supply. Finally he sowed wheat, but as it did not come up, he asked next year for some barley to be brought instead, "in case it were either the nature of the soil or the Divine will, that such grain should rather grow there." (Bede, *Ecclesiastical History*, trans. V. D. Scudder). The barley prospered better than the wheat, as it was likely to do in the latitude of Lindisfarne. St. Cuthbert also made use one day of the fishing habits of a certain bird which Bede calls an eagle. It is characteristic of the time and of the race to which the saint belonged that, when the bird had caught him his supper, he had the fish cut into two pieces and a portion given to "God's handmaid"—the eagle.

Our fathers, then, professed a simple but practical religion which, if it retained a measure of the old fear, brought also a new hope. In this hope they buried their dead:

> ". . . . humbly we beseech Thee that the soul of Thy servant which Thou hast commanded today to pass out of this world be not taken into the hands of our enemy: forget it not at the end, but command it to be taken up by the holy angels and to be led into the country of life; so, for that he hoped and believed in Thee, let him deserve to be ever glad in the company of Thy hallowed ones. Amen.

(From *The Prymer* or *Lay Folks' Prayer Book*. The original is in Middle English.) This is the prayer of men whose lives were brief and uncertain, and whose enemies, "seen and unseen" as they said, were many.

Their conception of human leadership was also firmly rooted both in the traditions of the past and the necessities of the present. The king in Anglo-Saxon epic was the companion and friend of the company of warriors whom he led. From this was derived a sense

of personal relationship between the sovereign and the subject which has continued until the present time. Under primitive conditions the personal contact and personal loyalty were inevitable, but they survived into a different era chiefly because they were fortified by Christianity and by the character of certain individual monarchs. Anglo-Saxon kings were not "crowned," they were "hallowed." The same phrase is used for the consecration of a bishop or a church building as is applied to the crowning of a king. The ceremony was no mere formality but was chiefly a contract made between the king and his people in the sight of God and man. For the king as well as his people lived under the judgment of God. In the *Blickling Homilies* (The Third Sunday in Lent) the following admonition is ascribed to St. Paul: "The noble teacher has said that the king and the bishop should be the shepherds of Christian folk and turn them from all unrighteousness." If they do this faithfully "then they will receive from God a greater reward for this than for any other offerings—for to God his folk are very dear."

Even as early as *Beowulf* the word 'frofor', comfort, is applied to a king, "thone God sende folce to frofre. . . ." (1,14). It is the same word used in other literature to describe the Holy Spirit, "frofre Gaest", Spirit of comfort. The word occurs very appropriately in "The Proverbs of Alfred" when the duties of a king are set forth in verse:

> Thus spake Alfred,
> The comforter of England,
> There may by right no king
> Rule under Christ himself
> Except that in book-learning
> He shall be wisely taught:
> Taking pleasure in the writings
> By which he may understand,
> Without need of alien counsel,
> To deal justly in the land.

It was, of course, such kings as Alfred the Great who added their own reputation to the strength of the royal tradition. Some of these kings probably lacked even the crown which to us is the symbol of royalty. Crowns are not often mentioned in Anglo-Saxon literature, and the monks who translated the Scriptures were evidently in some difficulty as to how they should translate "the crown of thorns". Sometimes they used the word "kynehelm," royal helmet, but this could hardly have meant the same as "crown," for a compound including "helm" must have implied some kind of protection. So vivid was the idea of protection in this word that "helm" was sometimes used as a name for the king, or even for God Himself. A helmet would, however, be more appropriate to

the life of the early kings than the formal diadem adopted later. Occasionally a word was used which might suggest the latter, but the usual expedient was the Latin word "corona".

It is interesting to watch the gradual change of custom and language in the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle. Through war and invasion the hallowing of kings becomes a little less regular and the phrases used become more varied. The crown appears and the Norman kings are said to "bear the crown" when they hold court at formal intervals. Even the Normans, however, had to take the same oath, and to make this point quite clear the chronicler describes the ceremony of 1066 in detail.

The early English people were not unduly impressed by dignitaries. This is suggested, for instance, by the description in the Homilies of the penalties incurred in Hades by certain bishops. There is also the familiar case of Bishop Henry, who was expelled from Peterborough in 1132. The *Chronicle* (Laud MS.) for 1127 describes his arrival at Peterborough and concludes: "Such was his incoming: of his outgoing we cannot yet say anything. May the Lord provide!" They loved their good kings, but they were not under any illusions about their mortality. There was no fear of these men being regarded as divinities, as were the Roman emperors and later tyrants. They might, like Edward after the battle of Corfe Gate, take their place humbly in the communion of saints, but their lives on earth were as short and uncertain as those of their subjects.

> "Then it happened that King Ethelred died before the ships came: he ended his days on St. George's mass day, after the great toil and hardship of his life. And after his death all the elders who were in London, and the citizens, chose Edmund as king, and he defended his kingdom mightily while that his time was."

So runs the *Chronicle,* and the last words of this account emphasize the condition which the early inhabitants of this island neither could nor would forget. Rightly used it was an excellent safeguard in human affairs, for human life can scarcely be understood without reference to its impermanence. Yet if life was so uncertain, why did not these people, like many others, adopt merely a cheerful hedonism—"Let us eat, drink and be merry, for tomorrow we die"? Part of the answer lies in what we have just considered, the emphasis of their new religion upon the principle of justice and judgment in the universe. The rest can probably be explained by the fact that their faith was simple and was still fresh in their minds. Those in all generations who have had such a faith have been able to sing with them:

> I bileve to se the goodis of the Lord
> In the lond of lyvynge men.

MATTHÄUS APELLES VON LÖWENSTERN

By Sydney H. Moore, M.A.

The scene is Westminster Abbey, the date 1915. Large numbers of dons and schoolmasters are assembled to bring before God the burden of grief each of us bore because of the appalling losses among our Old Boys. Each day, as it seemed, we heard of some new victims to the fire of the irresistibly advancing Germans. Prayer we could offer, but . . . . sing! What should we sing? Could we sing anything at all? Yet when the Dean announced the hymn, no objection was felt, no mental protest raised. From all the vast store of the world's hymnody the one hymn chosen was written by a German and we sang it, feeling it to have been rightly and fittingly selected. It was Löwenstern's 'Lord of our life and God of our salvation'.

What manner of man was the writer who could accomplish such a feat?

As the seventeenth century dawned, hymn-writing in Central Europe had entered on a most unsatisfactory phase of its history. The great stream of holy song welling forth from the *Achtliederbuch* of 1524 had spent itself and was now lost in the shallow and unprofitable marsh-lands of controversy. Buoyant faith and exulting love, the hymn's original inward inspiration, had vanished; its original outward adornment, simple popular speech and melodious measure, had similarly disappeared. By 1618 there were some 25,000 German hymns in existence, but there was now no development: to write hymns people would sing, a poet must needs possess the polemic or the euphuistic spirit.

Then came the War. For thirty long years the country became the fighting ground of the nations. Anyone with a political, social or personal grievance marched straightway into Germany, burnt villages, destroyed homesteads, delivered battle. Such a time was in no sense congenial to literary composition of any kind. But the writing of hymns is and must always be a genre of composition somewhat apart from other branches of literature, and old Johann Rist's confession, 'The dear Cross hath pressed many sweet songs out of me,' suggests why, in this period of desolation and darkness, a real revival of hymn-writing took place. When national hope was dead and civic security annihilated, when life itself was despaired of

and famine, pestilence and bloodshed were rife, one source alone remained whence strength and help could be drawn: it was that confidence in God which a century earlier had given the singers of the Reformation their noblest strains. At that fountain, and not in the artificial learned societies of Weimar, Hamburg and Nürnberg, did Rinckart and Heermann, Stegmann and Rist and Löwenstern now derive their inspiration. As Professor Robertson truly put it, 'From the Reformation to the first quarter of the eighteenth century at least, the purest expression of the German lyric is to be found in the hymn'.

The principal centre of German literary activity in the first half of the seventeenth century was the south-eastern regions of Saxony and Silesia—if indeed that can be said to have possessed a centre at all which was only as a broken wreath of bay tossed to and fro on the wildly seething waters of the War. From Saxony came Fleming and Rinckart, from Silesia Opitz and Gryphius, Heermann and Scheffler, Rosenroth and Logau and Löwenstern.

It was at Neustadt in Upper Silesia that the last-named poet was born in 1594, the son of a saddler named Löwe; only after he had attained the age of forty did he assume the name by which he is universally known today, Löwenstern. From his earliest years he was devoted to music; through it the humble saddler's son became a peer of the Empire. He attracted the notice of his liege lord the Prince of Bernstadt, who made it possible for him to have a thorough education and then took him into his service as choirmaster. Later he became Director of the School of Music at Bernstadt and, in 1631, privy councillor and finance minister; he acquired the estate and castle of Langenhof as his personal residence. But in it he found little enjoyment, for the storms of the War were crushing the life out of the small principality to which he belonged. Now Mansfield, with his so-called 'Protestant' army, ravaged it, then the grim troops of Wallenstein, then again the dreaded 'Lichtensteiner', ruining it with pillage, forced levies, evictions and slaughter. Because of its position, Bernstadt was constantly traversed by friend and foe alike; it is on record that Olsnitz, not far away from Bernstadt, was sacked and pillaged a hundred times! In a poem addressed to Duke Karl Friedrich of Münsterberg our author writes:

> See, the foe on every side
> All our land doth fiercely plunder!
> Robbing, murdering, far and wide,
> Every barn they rip asunder.
> Comfort me beneath this load,
> O my God!

Neither lands nor hearth nor home
Can we guard from desolation.
Havoc reigns where'er we come:
Who shall hear our supplication?
Comfort me beneath this load,
O my God!

But, like Knorr von Rosenroth and Friedrich von Logau and other ministers in tiny 'plum' states, he could only look on with anguish: all the dozens of states in Upper and Lower Silesia combined could not have diverted the march or restrained the violence of a Tilly or a Dohna, a Holk or a Wrangel. Yet like the two poets just mentioned, Löwenstern's faith in an unchanging and merciful God never wavered. His personal motto was: 'If God be for us, who can be against us?' In a hymn based on Ps. CXXI he maintains:

'Tis He doth make my feet
Walk surely 'mid distresses
'Tis He Who guides my path
Through these grim wildernesses,
And keeps me safe from gin and snare,
Which world, death, devil, aye prepare.

A remarkable honour fell to the poet's lot in 1634. The Emperor, Ferdinand II, summoned him to Vienna and notwithstanding his always undisguised Protestantism, made him an Imperial Councillor and, a year or two later, when his true value was perceived, raised him to the peerage; it is at this time he is first known as Count Matthäus Apelles von *Löwenstern*. After a few more years in the capital however this loyal son of Silesia returned to his home country, where he ended his days as Privy Councillor to Karl Friedrich of Münsterberg. Like his famous compatriot, Logau, he suffered acutely from gout. He died on 11th April, 1648, a few months before the Peace of Westphalia was signed.

To his contemporaries Löwenstern was principally known as statesman and musician: Nelle indeed maintains that he was as good a musician as poet. His phenomenal rise from a very low station in life he owed very largely to music, a striking proof of the high value set upon it by the public, even in days of great tribulation. In the library of Breslau University are many MSS of his motets and concertos. J. S. Bach thought highly of them and introduced seven of their melodies into his own choral works. Löwenstern's hymns were generally written for and addressed to individuals and he never published any collected edition of them. Yet a number of his friends did, in 1644, collect a handful which he allowed to appear under the title, 'Spring Blossom, from 30

Flowers that grew in a quiet little Garden, but which were plucked somewhat too early.'

Two hymns from this small collection merit particular attention. Like all his landsmen, Löwenstern mightily honoured Silesia's prince of poets, Martin Opitz, a man who, like himself, had been ennobled by Ferdinand II. Opitz had insisted that to uplift German poetry classical metres should be liberally employed. Hence in the 1644 booklet Löwenstern's two best-known hymns appear, the one, 'Nun preiset alle Gottes Barmherzigkeit', in alcaics (a good translation is found in Miss Winkworth's 'Chorale Book for England', 1863), and the other, 'Christe du Beistand deiner Kreuzgemeine' in sapphics. It is this second hymn which has won world-wide recognition and affection in Philip Pusey's paraphrase, 'Lord of our life and God of our salvation.'

Admittedly it would be an abuse of words to call Pusey's version a translation. This can be seen at once by comparing a prose rendering of stanza I with verse I of our hymn. Roughly the German runs: 'Christ, Thou supporter of Thy persecuted followers, hasten to bring us help and deliverance. Check Thou our foes. Bring to nought their counsels of blood.' To expand this to

'Lord of our life and God of our salvation,
Star of our night and hope of every nation,
Hear and receive Thy Church's supplication,
Lord God Almighty.'

is to do more than to translate; it is to re-create; it is renascence.

Two things however which distinguish the German hymn have been retained, its metre and, even more important, its atmosphere. The English words may vary widely from the German original, but whether one reads in English or German, the hymn belongs to the Thirty Years War, to its poignant agony and far-reaching disintegration; in the one it is 'Du Wächter deiner armen Herde', in the other 'Lord, Thou canst help when earthly armour faileth'. Both equally express the loss of all save that upward look to the hills whence strength comes. As for the metre, to judge of its success it is enough to sing the hymn, in either German or English, to the air composed for this very measure, called often 'Integer vitae' or, after its composer, 'Fleming'.

The English-speaking world is indebted for this much loved hymn to Philip Pusey, a brother of the more famous Dr. E. B. Pusey. In 1840 he contributed four hymns to a book then being compiled in Oxford, Reinagle's 'Collection of Psalms and Hymn Tunes as sung in the Parish Church of St. Peter in the East, Oxford'. In his Preface the rector states: 'Philip Pusey, Esq., has allowed me to add to this collection some hymns which are

partly translations and partly original'. Thus from the first there was no deception. But it would seem that insufficient justice has hitherto been done to the art of the paraphrase in hymnody. Compare for instance Pusey's work with that of a translator so gifted as Miss Winkworth. Her first verse reads:

'Christ, Thou the champion of that war-worn host
Who bear Thy Cross, haste, help, or we are lost;
The schemes of those who long our blood have sought
Bring Thou to nought.'

It is an able translation but, apart from its felicitous rendering of *Kreuzgemeine* as 'war-worn host who bear Thy cross', there is little more to be said for it. On the other hand, in 'Lord of our life', words, metre, spirit, atmosphere, all have been thrown into and fused within the crucible of a poet's brain, and the result is a poem wholly unique. Many verses in John Wesley's great translations cannot but be regarded as paraphrase; yet how great the art which could transform, for example, the nine unequal, sprawling lines of Gerhardt's 'O Jesu Christ, mein schönstes Licht' into the six compact lines of 'Jesus, Thy boundless love to me'.

When Philip Pusey sent his version to his brother, the Doctor, he told him: 'It refers to the state of the Church, assailed from without, enfeebled and distracted within, but on the eve of a great awakening'. Löwenstern would have accepted that as a just précis of what he had tried to do, albeit with a certain wistfulness as of one not destined himself to see that great awakening. He died six months before peace came, a dozen years before the evangel of pietism began to bring heart and hope to his so distressed country. But to the end he maintained the humble mind of which he speaks in one of those 'Flowers from a quiet Garden':

To him who, simply, lives his life
And humbly bears him 'mid men's strife,
Our God Who dwells in highest heaven
Life on the noblest plane hath given;
From poverty and anguish freed
He shall be blest in thought and deed'.

THE 'COMMON LIFE' IN THE REFORMED TRADITION

By T. Ralph Morton

The Reformed conception of the 'common life' arose in opposition to a different conception, and we cannot understand it without going back to that great divide. It was in essence a revolt against the idea of the 'religious' life that had developed in the later Middle Ages. There are striking parallels between the creation of the new pattern of the Reformers and the earlier creation, even more deliberate, of the monastic pattern from which the idea of the 'religious' life grew. It is useful to think of these parallels; to recognize the essential resemblance between these two sets of reformers; and to appreciate the value of the tradition that the later reformers opposed.

The original appeal of monasticism was that it was a lay movement. (a) It was an attempt to find, outside the regular organization of the Church, a form of life in which men could live to the glory of God. (b) It was an attempt to get back to something nearer the common life of the early Church. As Christopher Dawson says: "the Augustinian conception of monasticism was inspired by the ideal of the common life of the primitive church rather than by the intense asceticism of the monks of the desert." (c) It was a corporate life in which individuals bound themselves to each other in a common discipline. (d) It was also a common life in that it was concerned with work and worship. And the ideal of manual work as a part of the religious life was as foreign to the Church of the time as it is to the East today. (e) It necessitated the deliberate creation of a new pattern of living expressed in a time-table which needed strict discipline to enforce it.

Monasticism was the most deliberate and revolutionary experiment in Christian living that the Church has ever made. Men and women abandoned their familiar life in home and village to create for themselves a quite different pattern of social living, which, in the end, set its mark on European civilization, and which was the means by which the evangelization of northern Europe was achieved. But it resulted in a situation that was quite unforeseen. There developed a complete divorce, in practice if not in theory, between the 'religious' and the common life of men. By creating the 'religious' it also created the 'secular.' By the later Middle Ages the life of the Church was the life of the monastery. The idea of the primitive Christian community was gone.

It was against this that the Reformers rebelled. They expressed their revolt in three doctrines which their opponents would never have denied, but which are important for their implications.

(1) The cardinal doctrine was that of the sovereignty of God. What was important was not so much the fact of His sovereignty as the area of His authority. He was the Creator; He was the Lord of all things; all was under His rule. The compelling vision of the Reformers was of Christ's rule in all the affairs of men. To the medieval vision of another world, a place of grim terror and of indescribable joys, which men entered one by one at death, was opposed this terrifying vision of God's will now and His primary concern with men's social life. It was an apocalyptic faith. (2) From this came the doctrine of 'election' and 'vocation,' which again stressed this world. The vocation of Christian men was not to the 'religious' life, but to obedience to God in whatever station He had called them. The farmer, the merchant and the King had as truly a Christian vocation as the minister. (3) Then there was the doctrine of the Church. The Church was the whole body of those whom God had called. It was corporate, and without it there was no salvation.

These doctrines might well have become new matter for scholastic discussion, and their exponents a sect, if there had not been emerging a new form in which they found living expression. And this was the family. It was this emphasis upon the idea of the family that made the Reformation possible, that indeed made some kind of reformation inevitable. We see it in the effect it had on the Counter-Reformation, no less than on the Reformation. We see it emerging in the change from monkish chronicles to family letters. We see it in the change from the castle to the manor house. It was due to the greater security of life, and to the emergence of new sections of society outside the order of religious life through the growth of trade and the development of towns, through the universities which trained men for secular life, and through the new learning and art which found their patrons in the banker rather than the abbot. The men these changes produced did not withdraw from family life to practise religion in the cloister. They wanted a religious life that centred in their homes and families. The rich built stately homes, not abbeys. The strangely modern picture of the home-life of Sir Thomas More could not have been drawn earlier. It was this newly emerging pattern that the Reformers took as the form of their common life for the Church. They could do no other, for it had produced them. But they gave it meaning and they expressed the Church in terms of it.

It is important to remember that that pattern of family life did emerge from economic causes. We are apt to talk about that familiar pattern of family life as natural. It was no more natural

than the new forms of economic grouping which are emerging now.

The pattern of the Reformed Church took its shape from the conception of the family as the basic unit of its life. The Reformers quite deliberately substituted the family for the monastery and convent as the type of the common life. Instead of the hourly office of prayers in the monastery, there were morning and evening prayers in the home. The discipline of family life took the place of the discipline of the monastic community. This discipline was supported not only by the Church but by the State. Today it strikes us as tyrannical, but a social revolution can be achieved only by discipline, and the discipline was accepted because only through it could be attained the kind of common life that was desired. The local church—the congregation—was the sum of these families. It was as a member of a family, and not as an individual, that a man was a member of the Church. We still see the relic of this in Northern Ireland where, if you ask the minister of a Presbyterian church how many members are in his congregation, he cannot tell you. He has never thought of counting. What he can tell you is the number of families, all of whose members may not be communicant members of the Church. Recently I visited two parishes in Aberdeenshire in each of which the minister could not tell me of a single inhabitant who was not a member of the Church. Church membership had not yet become an individual's choice.

The Church was that congregation of families. The word 'congregation' was emphasized, as if the Reformers wanted it to take the place of the word 'church,' as in the usage, "Lords of the Congregation" and "The Congregation of Govan." And it was a new creation. The church building was the place of meeting, and not the only place of worship. The essential place of daily worship was in the family circle. The place of daily life and witness was in the market-place, the court-house, the farm, the street. The Church building was the place of meeting, where the congregation was instructed in the 'Word' and received the Sacraments.

In the architecture of the church, equal centrality was given to Word and Sacrament, even as the minister was ordained to Word and Sacrament. The pulpit was central and impressive, with canopy, carvings and hangings in honour of the Book it bore and the preaching which expounded it. The Table, central and plain, was the symbol of the common life.

In Burntisland, in Fife, is a church, one of the first built in Scotland after the Reformation where James VI of Scotland, later I of England, convened the General Assembly of the Church of Scotland at which he first proposed the great undertaking which was to become known as the Authorized Version of the Bible. It is unique in Scotland and owes much to Dutch influence, but in its emphasis it is typical. It is perfectly square, with a squat tower

rising from the middle. It has symmetrical galleries on all four sides with pews which still carry their painted crests and emblems of the various trades and the families of the place. In the very centre of the church is the Communion table with the pulpit behind it. A more common form was the rectangular Church, with the pulpit in the middle of the long side and a long passage which ran from side to side before it, broad enough to give room for the extra tables that were put down for the celebration of the Sacrament. Many of these churches have been 'improved.' The pews have been turned to face the narrow end. A chancel has been created and the pulpit put at the side. But something fine is gone. And the building still cries out that this was not its intended use. It was built to be a house, the House of God, but still a house. Its architecture is based on that of a house. Some old churches have even chimneys on the gables—not for purposes of heating but because a house has chimneys! The Church was open for services only on Sundays and Fast Days, not because the Faith was only for Sundays but because the place of daily worship was in the home.

The Sacrament was the centre and the symbol of that common life. It is typical of the view that was held of it that in those early days it was called the "Action"; Communion Sunday was "Action Sunday," and "The Great Prayer" "The Action Prayer". The 'presence' was in the action of the congregation. There could be no celebration without the congregation. The wish of the Reformers—of Calvin and Knox—was that it should be weekly, but the Scots Parliament would allow it to be only once a month. Even that was not maintained for long. And still in the remoter parts, the medieval practice of twice a year became customary, and still survives, but with this difference, that it was a great corporate event, made social by the coming of people from great distances and by the hospitality required, and made solemn by the Fast Days that preceded the Action. You read of times in the Highlands and Islands where, so many were the people that came, the tables were set not in the Church but in the churchyard, and even on the hillside, and the people sat together in the open air.[1] For, of course, the true Reformed practice, still to be seen in Holland and restored in a few places in Scotland, is that the people should come forward and sit together round the table. That practice proved impracticable in the large city congregations, but still that sitting round the Table is symbolized by the elders sitting with the minister behind it. The congregation can still be regarded as gathered round the Table. This practice made clear the fact that all communicants were priests. The Bread and the Cup were

1 Similar gatherings for Communion and Preaching were customary in Wales. and in various forms survive. The Green at Bala *e.g.* was, and is, much used for such assemblies.—Ed.

handed from one to another, and each received from his neighbour and gave to his neighbour. And that—and not laziness nor a desire to be different—is why still the Bread and the Cup are passed from hand to hand along the pews.

This new conception of the common life demanded the creation of a whole new scheme of virtues. In the Middle Ages, the virtues of the Christian life had been pre-eminently 'religious' virtues, the virtues that opened the way to the life thereafter. Now instead of the virtues of the cloister were needed the virtues of this world; the virtues that would make men obedient to God in this life now. They were the domestic virtues, the virtues of the good father and the devoted wife. We know them from the tombstones of that age—integrity, truthfulness, kindness, temperance. We can indeed see how the Bible, both the Old and the New Testaments, came alive again when it was interpreted, as it had been written, to men engaged in the work of the world.

That pattern of the common life has had a great influence on the life of the world, because it has seen no clear dividing line between community and Church, because it has always seen Christians as naturally involved in politics and, above all, because it was this family pattern of Church life that was the means of carrying the Faith to the New World and was, perhaps the only means that could have done so. And we see its marks on North American life to this day.

But it had three grave defects.

(1) It was exclusively masculine. The father was the autocrat at home, he was the high priest of the family. Men ruled the Church, and still do. Women were given no place in society and no definite sphere for religious vocation in Church. They were regarded merely functionally as mothers and as wives. This has proved a very serious defect in the Reformed conception of the common life.

(2) The Church in the centuries after the Reformation never advanced beyond the domestic virtues. This was not the Reformers' intention. As God was the sovereign Lord over all life, so it was the duty of the Church to declare how a man should do business as well as rule a family. But the Church stopped at the articulation of the domestic virtues. It did not proceed to a like interpretation of the Christian virtues in political and communal life. Economics were left to rule their own sphere and soon to claim the sole right to rule. All that was expected of a Christian was that his home should be Christian and that he should be upright and considerate in his personal dealings with others. His domestic virtues had no necessary influence upon his political and economic life; they were kept outside the doors behind which money was made.

And so there came a change in the teaching about vocation. It had been little different from the medieval idea of "ordered status". Its aim had been to make men content with their calling; to curb greed, covetousness and ambition. But it came to mean that a man was free to develop his abilities in competition with others. Success in business came often to be regarded as a confirmation of his 'election,' and the old virtues of docility, hard work and lack of ambition were demanded only of the working-classes.

(3) This pattern of the common life was so embedded in the economic pattern of society that when that pattern changed it could not change as quickly. It was healthy, so long as the family remained the basis of the economic life of society; that is, so long as this was a country predominantly of farmers and merchants and manufacturers whose home and place of work were one. But when that ceased to be, the reformed pattern became moralistic and legalistic because divorced from the working life of men.

That test came with the Industrial Revolution when, from that rural family life, men in their thousands moved into the new industrial centres. The old way of life and the old virtues could not be transplanted; at least, not to the slums that became the dwellings of thousands. All that the Church did was to try to apply the rural parish system to the town. And it failed, except in the terraces and villas of the prosperous. There it succeeded because it created the congregation as we now know it to meet the needs of those who were finding the family no longer an adequate pattern. But the congregation as we know it now is a different thing from the congregation of the Reformation period. It is still possible in Scotland to visit parishes in the remoter areas where there is no hall, no Sunday School, no Women's Guild, no Youth Fellowship—nothing but the Sunday services. That is not a Church that has failed, but a Church that has survived from an earlier day. It is typical of what every parish in Scotland was like in the centuries after the Reformation up to a hundred years ago. The new pattern congregation met the needs of those that were rising to power and affluence, the new middle-classes. And it achieved much in preserving that class inside the Church and in teaching them integrity and temperance and in giving them a sense of service. But it has proved inadequate, because it was content to deal, on the lines of the previous age, only with the domestic life of men—with what they did at home, in church and in their leisure time. It did not concern itself with the whole life of its members, and especialy did not concern itself with those sections of life which occupy most of a man's time and raise most of his problems—work and politics. And so it failed utterly to meet the needs of the working population, and is now failing to meet the needs of the middle classes.

Failure to meet the needs of our industrial society is not unique

to the Reformed Church. The Reformed Church, perhaps, feels it more because it has always been closely involved in national life, and because it is strongest in those counties, or parts of counties, which are furthest developed industrially. This is no accident. The Reformed Church has been the seed bed of democracy and the nourisher of responsibility and enterprise. But we have the anomaly of a Church set in the mould of a rural economy being now strongest in the industrial areas.

But the conception of the common life in the Reformed tradition is not theoretically bound to the form in which it was first expressed. The belief in the sovereignty of God, with its demand for the recognition of His rule, precisely in those areas of our social and political life in which it is ignored, is the doctrine that we all need to hold more strongly. The doctrine of vocation is fundamental, but needs now to be thought out in terms of the jobs men are engaged in and of their political responsibilities. The doctrine of the congregation—not the congregation of individuals concerned about their spiritual welfare and their leisure-time activities, but the gathering of a community in its real economic groupings, with the recognition of the new responsibilities and possibilities of family life, with at last the recognition of the place of women in society and the church, with the emphasis of its concern on Christian obedience in work and politics—that is something for which we all wait, and for which we are all striving. And the Sacrament has again to be seen as the living centre of the common life of the Church.

I add a brief statement about what we are trying to do in the Iona community. We see ourselves as heirs of the Reformed tradition and an integral part of the Church of Scotland. Our task is to find for ourselves a fuller recovery of our understanding of the essential doctrines of our tradition, and to find their fuller interpretation in action in the life of men today. We have to understand salvation in terms of the whole life of men. We are trying to see how the congregation can become again the living fellowship, concerned with all its members as persons, and with the whole of their life. Particularly, we are trying to see how that fellowship can be related to the lives of men in industry. We have taken as our primary concern groups of men in industry because they hold the key of the future and have been most neglected by the Church. Our fourfold concern is with parish mission, divine healing, political affairs, and liturgy. And we know that we have first to have among ourselves in our own community a new discipline, spiritual and economic, in terms of the common life of today, before we can begin to try to teach others.

A NEXT ADVANCE FOR THE INTERNATIONAL CONGREGATIONAL COUNCIL

By Douglas Horton, D.D.

Around the world today there is the sound of a going in the tops of the Congregational mulberry trees. It is not only that the International Congregational Council is to meet this June, in the manner and for the purposes set forth so clearly by Dr. Sidney M. Berry in the last issue of the *Congregational Quarterly*. It is international Congregationalism itself, the churches in a score of lands, the body of worshippers circling the planet, too many and widespread to be gathered into any Council, who are becoming conscious of themselves and beginning to stir.

Congregationalists have been thinking—always a hazardous practice. They have been reading over again P. T. Forsyth, among other theologians of the Congregational way. By him, and the others, they have been stimulated to re-estimate the meaning of their faith and practice. They recognize that for the last few generations, and possibly for longer, they have allowed themselves to a certain degree to drift into a philosophy of isolationism, a polity of stark, un-concatenated independency, which differs from true catholic Congregationalism as widely as the scattered rocks on a seashore differ from those fitly joined together and compacted in a building such as that of which the Apostle wrote.

I find excitement in the theological classrooms of Congregational institutions today—for what can be more exciting than the sense of unity felt by free people gathered about a Lord and Leader who is wholly good and wholly powerful? This Leader is in the midst of ten thousand congregations, but he is the same Leader, and in Him they are one. Each congregation is bound to Him not through a single, sometimes soiled and frayed, papal line stretching back to His historical appearance; not through some disputed line of ἐπίσκοποι or more understandable line of πρεσβύτεροι, but historically through other people like themselves, congregations of them, and mystically (where affection and power reside) through His immediate presence. Only to the dull and unquickened physical eye do the churches appear to be many. Faith knows that there is only one Church, though the manifestations be innumerable and multiform. These manifestations are found in every denomination of Christians, but how subtle and vital, how clean and conscious, is that unity which binds together those who, while recognizing all other Christian groups as belonging to the Great Church, cannot but

regard themselves as a nucleus of the whole. They have never, in their own minds, allowed the idea that the organization of Christ and His disciples, wherever found, is the authentic Church, to become mixed with the alloy that as well as this relationship is needed the touch of some high ecclesiastical officer's hand, or the assent of some lower officers, to make church membership authentic. Their churches are the outcrop (the Forsythian word) of the basic Christian stratum.

Furthermore, during the last decade Congregationalists have been reading their own history. They know that the historians of the more distant past (the records to which they might have gone having been seriously decimated by the ruthlessness of early persecution and later Restoration) made the understandable error of deriving Congregationalism from Separatism. Some records have been saved, however, and these the objectively scrupulous, painstaking, source-seeking historians of today have found. They know how such men as John Owen on one side of the Atlantic and John Cotton on the other would have recoiled from the appellation 'separatist'. It would have been simple cruelty, had it been intentional, to have placed them in that tradition. The only connection which Henry Jacob, the founder of the oldest Congregational church in Britain today, had with Robert Browne and the other avowed Separatists was that of antipathy; and it is as non-Separatism that Congregationalism is recognizing itself around the world today.

Congregationalism differs from Separatism more in motive and spirit than in any other trait. The Separatists regarded the Anglican body as having omitted the essential quality that would have made it a church. It was, therefore, in the minds of the Johnsons and Ainsworths, anti-Christian. The Congregationalists may be said to have regarded Anglicanism as having added an unessential, and sometimes dangerous, set of practices — at times even destructive of the essential — but not in such a way as to make all of Anglicanism anti-Christian. In such men as Henry Burton Congregationalists came to regard themselves as one branch, a mature, flexible, co-operative and health-giving branch, of British Christendom: they were ready to co-operate with the other branches in every way they in honesty could. They were not like the Pentecostal sects of today and the rigid Separatists of that yesterday, unwilling to collaborate except under necessity.

This better understanding of themselves has given the Congregational churches which have acquired it a new sense of life.

It has given them an appreciation of the reason not only why they have so long been in the forefront of the ecumenical movement, but also why they are indispensable to that movement. They have been interested in the ecumenical movement because they were

born that way, over three centuries ago. From the beginning they have tried, except in the early theocratic period of New England, when they had to give themselves special protection against antinomian groups, to live in harmony with other denominations. It has not been their custom to unchurch others. They are today indispensable because they hold the one key to organic ecumenicity. The Christian Church can continue without bishops, even though it may be argued that it cannot continue at its best without them. It can continue without authoritative officers of any sort, though officers are needed if it is to be most effective. But it simply cannot continue without people in groups, even groups of two or three—congregations, that is, and preferably larger than two or three, Christ being in their midst. The Christians of the world will not as a whole consent to unite in an Ecumenical Church which attempts to build itself about the unsubstantial structure of episcopal or presbyteral lineage. They will not choose *ἀδιαφορα*, for their foundation. There is only one type of foundation stone for any such Church of the future—the Christ-filled congregation. Varieties of superstructure may be added—provided only they do not prevent the Christian congregation from being itself—as it, itself, in His spirit conceives it should be. This is Congregationalism—and this is the reason why it is (in the adjective of Albert Peel) inevitable.

In the second instance, the new understanding of themselves has given the Congregational Churches a sense of their own solidarity. They now know they cannot live as isolated units and, indeed, that they were never intended to. If they are the heart of the Catholic Church of tomorrow, they must, today, demonstrate what a segment of that church would look like, at its best.

They begin to approach their problems as world-wide. They will not allow their love of a local church to become a phase of self-contained parochialism. If they cannot show that their contribution to a small community is for the good of humanity at large, they will not regard it as worthy of Christ and His Church; and they will never know whether their local work is of Christ without consulting the needs of the world—and consulting them first. Congregationalism is not itself unless it takes a catholic, ecumenical, world-wide approach to its task. The International Congregational Council is the best single organ for that approach.

If that Council may be conceived of as the cap-stone of the pyramid of Congregational organs of fellowship (not of authority)—the national unions being the next tier below, the county unions the next, and so on—is it not clear that for full-front advance to meet the world's needs, it will be necessary not only to maintain the vertical channels of intercourse, the groups nearer the base keeping in touch with those nearer to the apex, but also to establish new avenues of horizontal reciprocity: must not every national union

come to know every other one—and that directly, and not merely through the medium of the International Council, even though under the latter's auspices?

My recent journey around the world has burned into me the conviction that the next step for international Congregationalism to take is to make the strength of all the national unions available to each of them through the medium of the exchange of ideas and of persons.

Of the making of books there is no end—and of the making of promotional literature by the communions of Christendom there is no end of annual increase. The number grows and grows. But the distribution of this material, however potentially universal its appeal, is unhappily circumscribed. So far as our own communion is concerned, the International Congregational Council might help us to secure a list of the addresses of all secretaries of national unions, place it in the hands of every one of them, and then, if a miracle could be effected, secure a firm pledge from each that he would every quarter send to the others copies of all the materials his union has put out.

Periodicals are the means *par excellence* to convey persistent ideas. What I have said about the more fugitive literature of promotion might apply in this area also. (And the *Congregational Quarterly* should be required reading for every world-minded Congregationalist.)

There is one intriguing way of communicating ideas which I ran across in Australia. The "Flying Doctors" are the intrepid missionary-physicians, who fly their own planes in sparsely settled Northern and Western Australia to bring relief to the sick, both among the aborigines and the white sheep farmers. From six centres they cover a territory the size of Europe. They learn where the needs are through the "pedal wireless"—sending and receiving radio sets which generate electricity by foot-power. These sets have not only brought medical care to the lost dwellers in the 'Outback' but have also saved the sanity of many of them by permitting them to chat with one another. Why should we not use short-wave radio to unite our Unions around the world? There is an enormous volume of material of common interest to the Congregational churches of all lands. Only good could come of our sharing it. And why not by short-wave radio linking Memorial Hall in London, 287 Fourth Avenue in New York, and the other headquarters of Unions around the world? The President of Amalgamated Wireless of Australasia Limited, with whom I talked over the matter, says that such a hook-up is entirely possible from a technical point of view. He thinks that the international authorities might even assign to us a band to talk on for an hour a week.

Better than sending ideas across national boundaries, important as that is, is the sending of people who can carry the ideas in the warm context of their own persons and bring them back to their own countries. There are three kinds of personal exchange or mission to which we might devote ourselves, which I may illustrate from Hawaii, New Zealand, and Australia.

The first type is that of the relatively short-term exchange of ministers, and in some cases of lay men and women. This succeeds best in countries which are not too remote from each other. It is seen under full sail today between the Congregational Churches of Britain and the Mission Covenant Churches of Sweden. Every summer it binds closer the Congregationalism of Britain to that of the United States. Other areas, perhaps in Asia and Africa, might profitably establish the system.

Though Hawaii and the mainland of the United States are far from being two separate countries, they might with value to all concerned develop a system of exchange. Three months (or longer, in some cases) in an island parish would bring refreshment of body and inspiration of mind to many a mainland pastor; and the contacts made by the island minister who occupied his parsonage during that time would go on paying dividends for a decade. The enlarging of viewpoints which would come to the congregations on both sides would be very considerable, and the system of exchange in its entirety, if properly set up, would be an announcement and a symbol of the fact that the Congregational fellowship is an undivided unity.

It would be possible to arrange these exchanges between American Japanese, Chinese, or Hawaiians from the Islands, and Caucasians from the mainland. For the first time in history we have a group of well-trained non-Caucasians who speak English as their mother tongue. Applying the same techniques of screening which have been so successfully used in British-American exchanges, we should be able to send back and forth between the Territory and the States men of parts who would leave a spiritual blessing in the parish they visited. If properly handled the system would strengthen the men, the churches, and the communion at large.

Something similar might be said of short-term exchanges in every part of Congregational Christendom.

New Zealand serves to illustrate another possible type of international service—the (relatively) long-term 'lending' of leaders to one union by another. It was heartening to realize, as the officers of the New Zealand union talked with me this winter, that they were no longer weeping over the dear dead possibilities of the past and that they had in hand a definite programme of advance into the future. In forthright fashion they said, "Give us four good men

for three or four years, and we shall see this through: we shall change New Zealand." I believe they could. Always they returned to this theme. The Congregationalism of the English-speaking world should hear and respond to their plea. If such men as are called for could be found outside the British Commonwealth, as for instance in the United States, the sending of them would have political as well as ecclesiastical significance of the happiest kind.

This new type of foreign missionary service accords with the ecumenical spirit developing throughout our fellowship. It might well be used to solve problems in other parts of the world than New Zealand.

Australia furnishes example of another way to bring the resources of all to the aid of each. The leaders there believe (and I as a casual observer am in most hearty accord) that we should send some of their men, especially some of their executive officers, to Britain and the United States, not primarily to preach in churches, but to live for from three to six months in the offices of Moderators and Superintendents and with the ministers and office-bearers of successful churches. At this point they would not only make their own contribution, but would come to know united Congregationalism as it has been developing so rapidly at the English and American ends. By some such course as this, carefully considered as to the procedures and persons to be involved, we might greatly help Congregationalism at many points on the international map.

All these and many other matters will, I trust, be taken up at the meeting of the International Council in June. It will be a church meeting of the most thrilling nature. The delegates will lay the needs of the world before the Lord and ask Him, in the spirit of dedication, how they may best meet them. They are already hearing the sound of the going in the tops of the trees, but they are getting restive: they have more interest in the going than in the sound. They want to see action. More power to them!

CONGREGATIONALISM IN SOUTH AFRICA

By Ralph F. G. Calder, M.A., B.D.

Many different streams with their sources in widely separate hills have come together during the last century and a half to form what is South African Congregationalism today. Full understanding of it is not possible without a look at these varied beginnings.

By the end of the eighteenth century the Dutch had already been in the Cape for a hundred and fifty years. They had fought and largely subdued or enslaved the native Hottentots and Bushmen. From the East Indies and from Madagascar they had also introduced other slaves. Unions—both legal and illegal—with the women of these people had given birth to a growing community of those who were, and are still, known as the "Cape Coloureds", who in turn, if not always slaves, stood to all intents and purposes in that position. The Dutch East India Company, which in 1652 had sent the first settlers to the Cape, had after a long history just failed and been dissolved. The British at the commencement of the Napoleonic wars had saved the Colony from capture by the French by capturing it themselves, their possession soon to be legalized by the treaty of 1814 by which the whole country was purchased for £6,000,000, to be extensively settled from 1820 onwards. The Kaffirs or Bantu, the modern "African", not native to the Cape, had for some years been pressing downwards from the north and were already struggling with the Dutch Colonists for the land which they both so eagerly coveted.

The London Missionary Society. It was into this situation that the newly-awakened missionary Societies of Britain thrust their interest and agents. To a limited extent the Christianization of the coloured peoples of different kinds had been undertaken by the Dutch Reformed Church. The official regulation which freed such converts did not, however, make this effort popular with the farmers and pioneering frontiersmen in particular. Missionary activity from outside had been initiated by the Moravian Brethren in the second quarter of the eighteenth century, though it was not finally established until the last decade. It was at this time that the London Missionary Society decided to interest itself in South Africa.

In 1799 there landed from a convict ship four of its earliest missionaries—two Dutch and two English—the leader being Dr. Johannes van der Kemp. Two of them, Kemp and Edmonds,

immediately made the long and difficult journey to the eastern frontier of the Colony, crossed the Fish River and began the first attempt of any Society to establish a mission among the Bantu—in this instance, the Ama Xhosa. The attempt was in fact a failure. It is, however, of interest to note that the site where the first mission house was built was near where now stands Fort Hare, the first Native College for Higher Education. Meanwhile the other two with additional recruits had accepted an invitation to go northwards and carry the Gospel to the Bushmen. They ventured more than 500 miles from Cape Town into practically unknown country and persisted in their efforts for six years, but this mission was also a failure and was abandoned.

Kemp now heard a call to serve the despised Hottentots, and to them gave the remaining ten years of his life, with the sturdy assistance of his colleague, James Read. In June of this year there will be celebrated the 150th anniversary of the establishment of the settlement and church which he formed for the Hottentots at Bethelsdorp. In the church (now "Coloured") his Bible is still a treasured possession. Bethelsdorp became the centre of the South African Mission. Here Kemp and Read carried out a vigorous, if somewhat idealistic, attempt to "make citizens out of barbarians". At Bethelsdorp were fought the first of many bitter engagements between the Colonists and the Missionaries. The Colonists, hungry for land for which they had to be prepared to give life itself, saw the natives as their natural enemies, or at best their natural slaves. They were not wholly averse to their Christianization, but they were convinced of the black men's inferiority and saw in their social betterment a danger to their whole way of life. The Missionaries on the other hand, starting from their conception of all men's equality before God, were deeply sensitive to the cruelties undoubtedly inflicted by many of the Colonists on the natives, and made vigorous protest in every way possible. Kemp died in 1811 after being twice summoned to Cape Town to answer charges against his work, having, however, won the love and gratitude of the Hottentot people and having sounded the first trumpet in the name of racial justice.

Within ten years of his death the London Mission had half a dozen stations in the Cape Colony and half a dozen outside it, with a total of nineteen missionaries. Robert Moffat, John Brownlee and John Philip were already in South Africa. Within another thirty years the number of stations had grown to 33 and the missionaries to 37. Much of the credit for this development goes to Dr. Philip, great organizer and missionary statesman, but cruel thorn in the flesh of the Colonists and particularly of the eastern frontiersmen. For they were largely dependent on the labour, the slave labour till 1834, of the Hottentots, now rapidly merging into the

Cape Coloured folk. But the missionaries and philanthropists, of whom Philip was the champion, were concerned to convert these people not only into Christians, but also, as far as possible, into independent landowners and good citizens. The struggle was long and bitter. The missionaries enjoyed a number of triumphs, notably the passage in 1828 of the Fiftieth Ordinance, which secured the civil rights of the free coloured inhabitants of the Colony. But they proved, undoubtedly, no small factor in the dividing asunder of Afrikaner and British which has unhappily persisted to this day.

Withdrawal. When in 1848 the London Missionary Society had completed half a century of service, serious consideration was given to the possibility of release from the heavy cost (£7,000 a year, even though missionaries' salaries were still only £100 a year, as in 1820). The hope was that the established causes might become increasingly self-maintaining and thus free resources that the Gospel might be carried to "populous regions not hitherto visited by the Messengers of Salvation." The Rev. J. J. Freeman, the Society's special agent, opposed withdrawal, but both Moffat and Livingstone were in favour. It was therefore decided to challenge the various causes to independence. The first three to become Independent Churches did so in 1855. By 1882 all in the Cape Colony had done so, except that Hankey became dependent again upon the Society and continued in fact to receive support right up to 1910. The L.M.S. was thus free to carry on its beneficent work elsewhere in Africa. All but one, which passed to the care of the Dutch Reformed Church, became Independent, responsible for the maintenance of the ministry.

The European Churches. The early missionaries, though sent to witness to the heathen, were not indifferent to the needs of their own countrymen recently come to the Cape. James Read, unordained as he was, proved himself a vigorous preacher and soon gathered together in Cape Town, particularly from the garrison, a group of eager hearers who called themselves "The Calvinistic Society". Though he did not remain long in the town, the Society continued, and in May, 1813, its members formed themselves into a church. The first Free Church communion service on African soil then took place with ninety participating. Despite the loss soon afterwards of most of its soldier members, the fellowship held together till 1820. In that year Dr. Philip arrived, and took the people in Cape Town by storm. He was called to the pastorate, and accepted on two conditions—that his missionary work had first claim, and that the church take a Congregational form. He remained minister there for twenty-four years.

Apart from this church and its daughter born at Claremont in 1840, no other European Congregational churches were formed in South Africa until the middle of the century. Some two or three

churches served the needs of Europeans and Coloureds together, but there was nothing more. Then in 1851 European Congregational churches were started in both Port Elizabeth and Durban, and from that time onwards there were regular additions until the maximum of about 40 was reached at the turn of the century.

Colonial Missionary Society. It was in 1852 that the aid of the Colonial Missionary Society was first invoked. It had for sixteen years been sending ministers and giving financial aid to the building up of Congregational churches in Australia and Canada. Now an appeal came for a minister for South Africa and one was found and sent—the first of nearly a hundred in the following century. And in 1853 followed the first gift of money—of a total which has now reached the neighbourhood of £75,000. It was the Colonial Missionary Society which largely manned and considerably supported the expansion first in Natal, and then in the Transvaal, as the discovery of gold there drew thousands of Europeans. And at the turn of the century it was the Society which promoted the further extension into Southern Rhodesia. Its support is still given by the sending of ministers and the giving of aid, largely now used to promote African work.

Union. The first attempt of the Independent churches to draw together was in terms of "The South African Union of Voluntary Churches", which was formed in 1859, but which changed its name a few years later to "The Evangelical Voluntary Union". It was a loosely knit body and included at least one Presbyterian church. There would seem to be no exact information as to its membership, but we know that its eastern branch consisted of five European, ten Coloured and two Native churches. Its achievements in the difficult circumstances of the day were not inconsiderable, but after seventeen years it properly gave way to a firmer organization.

The Congregational Union of South Africa was formed in 1877, and at first consisted of no more than four European, fourteen Coloured, and six Native churches, all in the eastern province of the Cape. Very soon, however, churches in other areas joined, and when in 1900 the Natal Churches entered the Union the family was complete, apart from the grandchildren born in following years.

The history of the last half-century has not, of course, been unaffected by the political and social events and temper of the period—particularly the Boer War, the rise of nationalism, and the rapid urbanization of the Africans within the last few years. The Congregational Union has found a common mind on racial matters, born of the association in Christian fellowship of the three racial groups through nearly one hundred years. It has become an efficient organization, despite the usual Congregational suspicion of centralization. If it has not become a brilliantly successful instru-

ment of evangelization, that is largely because Congregationalism is essentially local, and particularly unsuited to the promotion of extension except in a rather unorganized way from the edges. It can, however, claim to have drawn together in a unique way three widely separate racial groups in the name of Christ and to have encouraged among the Coloured and African people an advanced and responsible form of churchmanship in which they are increasingly becoming at home.

Congregationalism Today.

European Churches. One is immediately struck by the smallness of European Congregationalism after a lifetime of nearly 150 years. There are today only 35 churches in the whole Union, with an average membership of 120. Only four churches have more than 200 members. Five churches have been closed in the last fifty years and only two have been added.

Part of the explanation lies in the fact that the churches have unitedly been much more concerned to maintain their extensive Coloured and African work, indeed, almost to the exhaustion of their resources. Part of it lies in the strength of the ties with this country. As in other realms of life there has been a tendency to remain "English in South Africa" rather than become "South African". And this attitude has been fostered by the fact that for a hundred years the great majority of the ministers have been found in England, and neither grown nor nurtured in South Africa itself. In other words European Congregationalism in South Africa might have been more vigorous had it not been able to look to the Colonial Missionary Society—even though that seemed, and still seems, necessary. Now happily there is provision for the training of theological students in the country at Rhodes University—the tragedy being that at the moment when the need is great there is not a single Congregational student. Much concern was expressed at the Assembly in 1952 that the European Churches were thus failing to provide for their own future, and a special effort is to be made to seek and encourage suitable young men.

This Assembly also called into being a commission to examine the work and witness of the European churches. This arises partly out of a concern for numbers as, without an adequate European base, African work cannot be carried on. It also represents a desire to discover whether Congregationalism has a special witness to make in South Africa other than providing Christian fellowship for British Congregationalists. It might well stand (not alone, of course, but unequivocally) for that Christian liberalism which has so few organized forms of expression in South Africa, and which might properly find its inspiration in the Free Churches as nationalism does in the Dutch Reformed Church.

Coloured Churches. There are today 56 Coloured Churches in association with the Congregational Union, with well over 300 outstations attached in varying numbers to the mother churches—the largest, Ebenezer, has 38. These outstations are to be found long distances out from the centre, in not a few cases as far as 100 miles, in one case no less than 1,000 miles. The average membership of the churches with their outstations is nearly 700, and excluding a dozen or so small ones is, in fact, about 900. Of their ministers only five come from England, six are European South Africans, and eight are Coloured. There is a move among the Coloured people to have ministers of their own kind if they can. The growing ability of the Coloureds to accept full responsibility in this way is a matter of great satisfaction. It is not clear yet, however, whether this may lead to a divisive tendency which may in the end mean a separate Coloured Church. This would be a great pity, but it is unlikely at the moment, as the Congregational Union provides one of the few spheres of racial equality for them to enjoy. The Coloured Churches are now nearly all completely self-supporting. Many of them have incomes, despite the poverty of their members, far greater than those of the smaller European Churches. This is, in fact, due partly to their size, but also to the subscription system and the sacrificial giving of the people. The Church provides for the Coloured people their principal, often their only source of consolation, culture, co-operative effort, pride in themselves, and also amusement, other forms being denied. This accounts for the size and power of the local congregations, though full acknowledgment must also be made of the leadership shown by the ministers and the sacrificial service given by the deacons and school teachers.

Special mention must be made of the schools, as a very large proportion of the schools for Coloured children were built, and are still built, by the church members from their own giving, though they are maintained by Education Authority grants. One of the finest training colleges in the country for Coloured teachers is Dower College, Uitenhage, built by the Congregational Union of South Africa largely from monies handed over in trust by the London Missionary Society to continue its work.

It is probably fair to say that not all the Coloured people are yet fit for the full responsibilities of a Congregational church. They have not all got sufficient education or experience of responsibility elsewhere. Nor do their churches perhaps pull their full weight in the Union. Collectively and individually they are naturally not a little pre-occupied with their own needs and their own grievances. But they are a strong and vital community within Congregationalism—the strongest and perhaps the most vital. They have much to receive and much to give—as was recognized in 1946 when one of their own ministers was elected Chairman of the Union.

African Churches. About a third of the twenty-four African churches date back to the London Mission days; the rest have resulted from more recent missionary work, particularly in Natal and the Transvaal, and in the modern townships. The average membership, including the outstations, is about 400.

In the Reserves provision is made largely in terms of missions under the general oversight of a minister and served locally by means of evangelists. The churches in the locations and townships, however, are on a full Congregational basis, having qualified African ministers, of whom there are no less than fourteen. Language problems have in part determined this—there is no European minister in the Congregational Union fully qualified to speak and preach fluently in Xhosa, Zulu, Sutho or any other of the tongues of the people (though many are fluent in Afrikaans, the speech of most of the Coloureds). But the chief reason is that the Africans have in some cases, if not yet in sufficient numbers, proved themselves capable leaders of their own people.

On the whole the churches are poor. Fifteen of them are aided and 75 per cent of the Union's grants goes to their support. This is both the burden and the opportunity of Congregationalism in South Africa. The possibilities of extension work are almost boundless. Great numbers in the Reserves are still heathen without knowledge of the Gospel. Great numbers in the towns have no contacts whatever with religion, and have great need of them. The new gold fields in the Orange Free State present a fresh and big opportunity.

American Missions. The interest of American Congregationalists in South Africa dates back to about 1832 when enquiries were made from Boston to Dr. John Philip. He wrote back enthusiastically and suggested that Zululand might well be a suitable sphere of service. As a result a party of missionaries and their wives landed in 1835 and began work in Zululand and also in Matabeleland. From these early days the names of Dr. Newton Adams and Daniel Lindley will be particularly remembered.

Despite many difficulties this mission has been maintained and expresses itself particularly today through the Adams College for boys near Durban, the Inanda School for girls near Durban, the McCord Zulu Hospital in Durban (though the hospital is independent), the Hofmeyer School of Studies in Johannesburg, and the big institution at Mt. Silinda, Southern Rhodesia.

In Johannesburg itself there is an African church run jointly with the London Missionary Society, with the co-operation for a while of the Congregational Union of South Africa. Other attempts are being made at co-operation, though this is not easy where mission and tribal loyalties tend to divide. The opening of the new goldfields in the Orange Free State has, however, suggested a likely

sphere for a joint effort, especially as workers are coming to it from the areas covered by the American Board, the London Missionary Society and the Congregational Union of South Africa.

Conclusion. The full title of the South African Union is "The Congregational Union, Church Aid and Missionary Society of South Africa." This draws attention to the many-sided nature of Congregationalism in that country, perhaps also, it explains both its weakness and its strength. In numbers it stands away below the powerful Dutch Reformed, Anglican, Lutheran and Methodist churches, not to mention the Pentecostal group. It is, however, a little stronger than either the Baptists or the Presbyterians.

Its weakness lies particularly in the smallness of its European membership, its continuing dependence upon Britain, and its failure to expand over the last fifty years. Its undoubted strength lies in Coloured and African churches where are to be found both quality and quantity. Its glory and hope lie in the warm-hearted, liberal-minded fellowship between the three racial groups and its courage to speak its mind on racial matters. The Congregational Assembly, as its Chairman, Dr. Horton Davies, has reminded us, "is one of the few places in South Africa where Europeans, Coloureds and Africans can meet, eat, worship and deliberate together as equals. Here the kingdom of heaven is well in advance of our earthly kingdom."

THE UNITED PROTESTANT CHURCH OF THE PALATINATE—THE ONLY CONTINENTAL INDEPENDENTS

By Carl H. Schneider, Ph.D., L.Th.

It is a great privilege to write a brief account, at the request of the Editor, of a Church which, for some time, has been growing into a closer connection with the Congregational Churches, and which is to have the pleasure and honour of taking part in the International Congregational Council meetings at St. Andrews this summer. This is, however, not easy, since the history and the ethos of the Continental Churches in general, and of the Palatinate church in particular, are rather complicated.

To begin with a definition: the United Protestant Church is the Protestant territorial Church in the State of Palatinate, which is situated on the upper Rhine between the River Nahe in the north, the Saar in the west, Alsatia in the South, and the Rhine on the east. She, at present, consists of more than 500 congregations, some of them having more than 20,000 members, and numbers about 550,000 church members. Her only 'rival', which mostly fights her very hard, is the Roman Catholic Church of about the same numerical strength.

In order to understand this we have to go back to Reformation times. In the sixteenth century the Palatinate consisted of about 50 independent territories, and most of them accepted the Reformation in the first years, partly in the Lutheran, partly in the Reformed Zwinglian or Calvinistic form. But in 1529 the Emperor Charles V tried to re-catholicize the whole Empire, and he certainly would have succeeded if in Speyer, the capital of the Palatinate, the Lutheran and Reformed princes and free cities had not vigorously 'protested'. So the Palatinate became the birthplace of the name 'Protestant' and of the freedom of faith in Germany.

The final decision of Augsburg in 1555, *"cuius regio eius religio"*, created a strange situation. There were many very small Lutheran, Calvinistic, and Roman Catholic territories in the Palatinate. After the Mennonites were recognized they, also, began to settle here, since they were persecuted everywhere else. Many princes and cities felt responsible for the churches, and especially those newly reformed, and notwithstanding the many varieties of faith and rite according to the many territories, the spirit of the Reformation was rapidly progressing.

But about 1600 the Jesuits began to work, and they gained more and more influence among the southern nobilities. But in the Palatinate, at first, they had little success. In the Thirty Years' War most of the Palatinate territories still fought for the cause of the Reformation. Yet the ruler of the largest territory, Frederic V, son-in-law of King James I, was defeated, and thereafter the re-catholicization by force began. The greatest treasure of the country, the famous library of Heidelberg, was taken away and given to the Pope, and it remains in the Vatican today. The situation became even worse during the wars of Louis XIV. Since the French king could not conquer the Palatinate he devasted it totally. All the castles were blown up and most cities burnt down. In the capital, Speyer, not a single house was left untouched. The major part of the population was killed or emigrated to America or Russia. But those few remaining, and new immigrants, soon began to rebuild it. It is characteristic that they rebuilt their churches before they built other things. A few years after the destruction of the city the surviving Lutherans, for instance, built in Speyer one of the most beautiful, joyful churches of baroque style in Germany. But the re-catholicization by fraud and force persisted all through the eighteenth century. The French occupied territories, as well as the Habsburg and other influences, called in the Jesuits in constantly increasing numbers into the country, and the University became soon dominated by them. Thousands of Protestants, especially in the Jesuit-governed territories, were exiled or had to flee. Although the after-effects of the French Revolution brought some relief, the re-catholicization was continued under the rule of Napoleon, and only after his defeat did an age of mutual toleration begin.

As it has been since the beginning of church history, the harder the external situation for the church, the better it is for her spiritual life. Only the centuries of suffering made the Palatinate Protestant church mature enough for the greatest event in her history, the creation of the only real and enduring Protestant church union in continental Europe.

Here I cannot go into details, and, of course, cannot analyse the motives of this event which, to me, seems to be the most important event in continental church history in the nineteenth century. The intellectual background certainly was formed by the ideas of Leibnitz and Calixt and the spirit of the much misunderstood and falsely blamed Enlightenment, the same spirit that at last did away with torture in law and the execution of witches. The political background was the necessary defence against the always menacing and dreadful attacks of Roman Catholicism—for the Palatinate, at that time, belonged to Catholic Bavaria. But there was something much more: the insight that the love of the New Testament ought

to be stronger than all differences in creed and confession; and impelled by this love the Palatinate churches dared the impossible —in 1821 Lutherans and Calvinists united in one Church, each of them giving up her special confession, celebrating together the Lord's Supper in a Biblical form, and declaring the Holy Scripture to be the only rule and norm of the Church.

Congregationalists and Independents, whose history knows of much fighting with Popery and confessionalism, will understand how difficult this transition from strict confessionalism to Christian unity was, and still is. The nineteenth century with its perpetual fighting between theological orthodoxy and liberalism, especially in Germany, finally led to a strengthening of confessionalism, all the more so on account of the various forms of attack upon the Christian faith in the twentieth century. A strict confessionalism seemed to be the only protection against the anti-christian propaganda of all kinds and degrees. In Germany this meant a strengthening of the old Lutheran and Reformed traditions. Of course, during the last decades several ideological experiments have been tried to unite these two confessional bodies without requiring them to give up their confessional peculiarities. The *EKID* (Evangelical Church in Germany) was the result of this. But it was, and is, not much more than a federation for practical purposes and, indeed, cannot be more. For, as every theologian knows, the differences between those two confessions are vital. Even their conceptions of God, of Christ, of the Bible, as well as of policy, are different. A union was not possible without giving up the traditional confessionalisms altogether, without, of course, losing the Christian substance that is in both.

Now the Palatinate Union of 1821 had done this long ago. The only foundation of the United Protestant Church of Palatinate was the Holy Scripture, but exegesis and interpretation were left to the Christian conscience of congregations and ministers, and these changed according to the natural historical changes to be and to come.

This may seem to have been easy, but it was not. The Lutherans were accustomed to their elaborate liturgies, their clerical features, their aristocratic church government, their relative detachment from the world, and their loyalty to the State. The Reformed had no liturgy at all, no real formal order of sacrament, a presbyterian church government, and a legalistic attitude towards the world. And since there was no confessional restriction all kinds of theologies could find a place in this new church, orthodox and liberal, pietist and rationalist, Barthian and anti-Barthian.

It worked out surprisingly well. For, although nearly all the other Churches refused to recognize this purely Evangelical Church —for example, the Lutherans of Bavaria refused to allow

Palatinate students in Bavaria to take part in the Lord's Supper in their churches—the spirit of the love of Christ, which really was the main factor in the origin of this Union Church, created a spiritual unity which did not need any more the confessional crutches. There was, and there is still, no unity of form. You find in the Palatinate liturgical and absolutely unliturgical services. You hear orthodox and liberal sermons, but there is one spirit. This was seen and proven at once by the astonishing extent of the works of love which, as a real result of union, is not surpassed in any other Church. The Church has a highly developed system of schools of all kinds, of hospitals, of homes of all kinds, of asylums, hostels, kindergartens and youth homes, of deaconesses, of parochial workers, of city missions, inner missions, station missions, and the like. But there was more: there was, and is, as in Reformation times, a constant free discussion of all the problems of faith, and therefore a unity underlying the manifold opinions and works; it is one Church.

Of course, there are problems. Let me mention only one: the tens of thousands of refugees now coming into the Palatinate from the east come mostly from strictly confessional Churches. They are not accustomed to the Union spirit, and it will take some time to make them familiar with it. Much patience, understanding, and accommodation is necessary to both sides, and the educational task is here enormous. As an independent church the Church of the Palatinate is by nature ecumenical. But since the Ecumenical Movement of today is still very much the coming together of the larger confessional bodies, she has a deep feeling of affection toward all independent churches in the world who, also, have only one basis and foundation, the Christ of the Scriptures. So, on the one side, she has found closer connection with the Protestant churches in France with whom she shares the same protective struggle against the attacks of Roman Catholicism, and, on the other side, with the Congregationalists. Therefore the first visit of our Congregational brethren to the Palatinate last summer meant more to us than personal friendship and fine understanding in many major and minor things. We became to our great joy convinced that in a world which is more and more stiffened by standardized mental and spiritual food, party hatred, and other divisions, the independent Protestant churches are one of the last rocks of the freedom of the Gospel. We feel that all that is common and particular in the Congregationalists, and in the United Palatinate Church, has a tremendous task, but also holds a tremendous promise. And aiming at this one goal, one real Christian Church without human barriers separating us from each other, we look forward with joy and expectation to your congress at St. Andrews, which we are pleased and honoured to attend.

CAN CONGREGATIONALISM HELP US?

By Herman J. Heering, D.D.

In gutteral Dutch the word Congregationalism is even harder to pronounce than in English. Its meaning is suggested by its derivation—*grex,* flock, *con,* together: a congregation is therefore something like a flock gathered by one shepherd; a gathered community. Congregationalism is that type of church that lives round a centre, men and women who have come of their own accord within the loving authority of the one great Shepherd. Congregationalism arose in sixteenth-century England, where the Puritans, in nature Calvinistic, no wise felt at home in the church of Elizabeth I and formed groups of their own. The fact of 'election' had to appear from, and was to be responded to, by the members personally, through their lives of purity and piety. It was Robert Browne and his followers who brought in a milder tone by emphasizing the community, in which it was the grace of God, the love of Christ and the guidance of the Holy Ghost, rather than the individual immaculateness, that counted.

There came a time of persecution, and martyrs were made. A small group took refuge in Holland, first in Amsterdam, after that in Leyden. Their delegates attended the Dutch assembly of Fasgood Calvinists (1610), the Dordrecht Synod. Was this perhaps why the air of Holland became too oppressive for them? However this may be, two years later one hundred and two members put to sea in the *Mayflower* to 'God's own country', the admonition of their minister, John Robinson, who remained in Holland, lingering in their memory, that they were not to be led exclusively by the instruments of the Reformation, Luther and Calvin, but gratefully to welcome every gleam of light which God might shed on their path.

Their first colony in Massachusets was Calvinistic. Heretics were put to death. The Baptist Roger Williams had to flee. A century later, however, all this was ended and the principle of tolerance was acknowledged. Was it because none could be spared in the hard struggle for life in the wilds of America? Or because the great distances made every religious control ineffectual? In the English mother country, however, the same development took place. Can we refer it to the spirit of the times, then? But there was little toleration around 1700.

No doubt all these factors played their subordinate parts. But for the Congregationalists, tolerance was the logical consequence

of their reformist religion—it is not given to man to decide who is among God's chosen; in His Word God speaks to all clearly and plainly and there is no special class of the initiate; Christ's cross has been erected for all; the Holy Ghost will continue to guide the *congregation*.

In the beginning of the nineteenth century, therefore, those who denied the Trinity left the Congregational Church, which they considered too Calvinistic, and founded a Church of their own, the Unitarian Church. Thus, the Congregational Church has grown into that typical "gathered church", founded, as it were, not from above but (guided by God and His Holy Spirit) from the believers themselves. The churches which, according to repeated official statements, do not lack respect for the historical confessions, nevertheless do not impose any of them on their members. Their own religious announcements are always called 'declarations'.

Several congregations use the Apostles' Creed or the Heidelberg Catechism, but every church member, young or old, makes his own confession of faith. Of course there are people who exert authority in the congregations. There are ministers, elders, deacons (these also giving spiritual guidance) and even superintendants or moderators. But it is well understood that this authority is 'ministerial' and not 'magisterial'; discipline is a matter of *iudicium* and not *justice*.

It goes without saying that women can be chosen for any office. Preaching by laymen is permitted, and indeed encouraged, after a yearly examination and at the request of the congregation.

Ultimately, moreover, authority rests with the church meeting, in which prayer is a leading element. The congregation, in obedience to its Lord, speaks as a whole, and every individual may draw his own conclusions. Every congregation, therefore, is *independent,* in itself exclusively subject to the Holy Ghost, although a synodal meeting, acting in the same way, binds the delegating congregations.

The church, moreover, is an *open* church; members are received or confirmed on their own confession of faith; baptism and Holy Communion are open to non-members; God's Word, God's Salvation, can look after itself.

The Dutchman will protest: this is bound to lead to weakness! This will end in spiritual lawlessness! After four centuries of Congregationalism the Dutchman will have difficulty in proving this remark to be true! Nor can we say: this is evidence of the typical Anglo-Saxon traditionalism which maintains those old dogmas as playfully as it does the Royal Horse Guards in Whitehall, because they have always been there, and radicalism is foreign to the nature of the Anglo-Saxon—radicalism in religion as

well—it is the Anglo-Saxon *charisma* of theological naïveté! Once again, let us not make the mistake of thinking it is as simple as all that; the relief work of the Congregational Churches after the war amounts to millions of dollars, their missionary society is one of the oldest in the world and these churches with at most 1½ million members have in fifteen missionary territories five millions more; in the American Federal Council of Churches, as well as in the World Council of Churches and the International Missionary Council, they have been given a very important role. Another point, the assent given by Barth of late years to Congregationalism may in great part be due to their church order, but it is worth observing that not long ago he also said that the English Congregationalist theologian Forsyth, living at the end of the nineteenth century, had been a great discovery for him: the latter's faith essentially agreeing with what he himself was aiming at half a century later.

The Anglo-Saxon, and particularly the American, churches generally define their *order* with exactitude; the Baptists, who require baptism of adults, in this way emphasizing the independent conviction of the believers; the Protestant-Episcopalians, the American 'Anglicans', with their bishops in Apostolic succession and with Apostolic power; the Methodists, whose character is still that of the revivalist, although their fervour has declined; the Presbyterians, with their rule of the elders; the Friends, whose order consists in their evangelical friendship; the Congregationalists discussed above.

The Dutch church names are much less clear, with the exception of the Mennonites ('Doopsgesind') and Baptists, whose adult baptism indicates the value of independent conviction in the members and whose conception of the congregation lies close to that of the Congregationalists. The names of other churches do not so much indicate their order but their faith: Reformed, Lutheran, 'Gereformeerd' (Fundamentalists), Remonstrant-Reformed. What a confusion! Who shall be able to explain to a foreigner the difference between 'Reformed' and the 'Dutch Reformed' Churches? All non-Catholic and non-Baptist churches go back to the Reformation. Those which do not call themselves Lutheran, go back to Geneva. And the difficulty is to find out what authority is to decide with what right this is done.

This is particularly a problem for the Dutch Reformed Church. Their theologians do not hesitate to reproach the Church of England with being founded on a compromise. Those who live in glass houses should not throw stones! What is the meaning of the term they are fond of using of themselves — "Christ-confessing

people's church''? How do they think to reconcile this with the open or hidden preference for one confession only, old or new, but valid for all? Since the time of the Dutch statesman and churchman, Dr. Abraham Kuyper, the alternative should be clear: either an authoritative confessional, or a confessing community church. The fundamentalist 'Reformed' churches chose the first: the 'Dutch Reformed Church' not yet the second, although it explicitly rejected the first after the days of Dr. Kuyper. It is true, more and more voices are raised in warning against the idolization of the confession and the rendering it absolute; against an obsession with it, on the one hand, and on the other an unnecessary fear of confession. But what conclusions are to be drawn from this attitude is not yet clear.

The idea of the community-church does not seem to lie within the Presbyterian-Synodical character of the Dutch Reformed Church. This seems worse than it is: for is not the elder chosen by the congregation, the member of the synod by the elders, and are not both—though by detour—delegated by the congregation? And, after all, the Congregationalist is equally well aware that elders and deacons, as well as the synod, are in the first place responsible for their actions to God. The question is: who or what is ultimately entrusted by God with the greatest authority? The presbyterial and congregational views are not mutually exclusive. A factor of spiritual efficiency also counts. In the United Church of South India, even the Congregationalists have bishops—though not invested with power, only with spiritual authority, and answerable to the congregations, by whom they are chosen! In the Dutch Reformed Church, however, there is no clarity in these matters, and sometimes a ministerial theology is revealed which agrees neither with the principles of the Reformation nor with present-day practice of the Dutch Reformed Church itself!

In its practice today, the Dutch Reformed Church is crypto-Congregational. Large groups live as if the whole Church accepted their confessionalism, as though there did not exist a great spiritual freedom of the congregations *de facto* before this freedom was thrust on them *de jure* by King William I in 1815 and by Dr. Abraham Kuyper in 1892. The Dutch Reformed Church accepted of necessity what Congregationalism does of its own free will.

This is not contradicted by the attempt to formulate a new confession: rather the contrary, for in the new confession an effort is made to give some room to all shades of direction in the church, without forgetting that every Protestant confession can only be *reformabilis atque revisibilis*. That is why I do not think I am an *enfant terrible* when I express the opinion that anyone joining the movement for rebuilding the church (''Gemeenteopbouw'') is

driven in the direction of the community-church, the community of believers with their own personal faith, which, as a matter of fact, is the only solution of the church-problem in our country.

But something more should be said about the confession. It is a misunderstanding to think that the Congregational order as such excludes a communal confession. The English and American Congregational churches have not got one, if they do not use the general Apostolic confession. They did have one in the seventeenth century, and in discussion with the Dutch Remonstrants they have expressed their envy of the Remonstrant confession of 1940. And we heartily applaud the attempts made by the Dutch Reformed Church to achieve a new confession. The problem does not lie in the fact of a confession but in its function. It has been observed more than once that the New Testament word, μαρτυρεῖν, to confess, carries a suggestion of martyrdom. This implies a confession of faith in which man and his whole life are completely involved, such a confession of faith being essentially different from a belief in the confession. Is the confession a *credo* (I believe) or *credendum* (what should be believed)? When the church presumes to draw up a *credendum,* does she not enter into the rights of God and His Word? Is not this like the Roman presumption?

We concede that a church must be able to define its standpoint and its boundaries. Such a definition, however, is in essence not a *credendum* but a 'declaration'. It does not speak with divine authority but with the authority of a human church. Therefore, Remonstrants and Congregationalists (independently of each other) do not use the word 'confession' but 'declaration', so as to render any misunderstanding and abuse impossible. In Congregationalist circles it is pointed out that no confession has ever guarded a church from heresies nor prevented diametrically opposed interpretations, unless the interpretation of the confession is also declared to be binding and the church assumes an even greater power as to the Gospel. And this, as a matter of fact, was the method of the Synod held at Assen of the fundamentalist Reformed Churches in Holland in 1928, and, indeed, of the Council of Trent.

But without any confession in deed and word no Christian church is able to exist. If possible, it is made in a communal testimony. The antecedents of the old Reformed confessional writings and also their prefaces make it clear to us how such a confession should be made.

But do we not drift into humanism and relativism when every individual member can decide what shall be considered truth in the church? Can one still be orthodox in such a church? Indeed words like 'orthodox' and 'liberal' lose their value. Though the

struggle to render the glad tidings will continue. And that struggle must indeed be continued with one's whole being and one's whole faith. But it must be a struggle free from the threat of church discipline, without calling in the help of the big brother of the majority, but carried on in that 'community of the possible opposites' which nevertheless remains obedient to its one Lord, who has to be served in a spirit of humility and love.

In our country it is the Dutch Reformed Church that holds the key to better church relations. In many respects she still leaves us in the dark as to her intentions. To be a church founded on a compromise, like the Church of England, is in itself by no means a thing to be ashamed of. But she will have to face some consequences. Only by acknowledging the Christian freedom in community will she solve her own problems and ours. Only then a new relation between her and, for example, the Remonstrant Church (but others as well) will be possible. And for this our faith still hopes, impatiently and patiently.

A NOTE ON THE CHURCH OF SOUTH INDIA TODAY

By Wilfred Scopes, M.A.

Some months ago an Indian contributor to the *Madras Guardian*, under the title, 'A suggestion to the Church of South India', reminded us of the need to press on with real integration. He pointed out that the co-existence of the previously separated Churches does not imply that true union has been achieved. He complained that "each denominational element is still clinging to its own contribution a little too tightly, and not pouring it into the common stock." He proceeded to state that growing together means the *developing of new personality*. Whatever may be happening at the higher organizational levels of the new Church, there is little sign of the development of new personality in the local congregations. This new personality must come both in the re-discovery of truth in the classic forms of our former allegiances and in the making of new discoveries. It is not a mere matter of filling an Indian vase with a variety of predominantly Western flowers, but rather of growing in Indian soil a hitherto unknown plant, stemming indeed from a plant nearly 2,000 years old, the outcome of wide selection of local varieties and careful grafting, under the direction of the Master gardener. It is not enough that all the churches within the C.S.I. are now regularly organized under Diocesan Councils, that active steps are being taken to hand over the work of Mission Committees, that previously separated clergy and laity come together now and then for retreats where Holy Communion is celebrated, that the work of the Liturgical Committee is now bearing fruit. If we ask bluntly what modifications have taken place in the organization and worship of local congregations, we must admit that in five years little has been accomplished. In Rayalseema the officiating presbyter may now wear a cassock, but for all intents and purposes the Sunday service is according to the old S.I.U.C. tradition. Here at Dornakal the worship and organization have so far been almost entirely Anglican. True, on occasions, we have used the new C.S.I. order of the Lord's Supper, and the monthly English service in the cathedral does not necessarily follow the Prayer Book. But visitors would find it hard to say how anything approaching 'new personality' has been developed. This is certainly not due to any latent opposition; it is just that here, as elsewhere, the Christian community has been

content to carry on as before. How can the spontaneity of the Free Church tradition supplement the dignity of worship in this noble cathedral? How can new indigenous experiments in worship be encouraged? How can responsible democracy replace the beneficent autocracy of the clergy?

The challenge to our Theological institutions. In an institution like the local Andhra Union Theological College we rejoice to mark the blending of traditions. Here foundations are being laid for a distinctive Church personality. We are conscious of the grave responsibility resting upon us in this matter. We have freedom to experiment; we are less bound by the heavy weight of custom. It is good to know that similar institutions in other diocesan areas are pledged to meet the same challenge.

Strengthening Church foundations. Why is it that in Christian strategy we suffer too much from the limitation of one-way traffic in ideas and plans, from the higher to the lower levels of organization? There is so little traffic of thought from the lower to the higher levels. We are grateful for all the drive and energy that comes down to us from the N.C.C. and its Standing Committees, and from our own Synod. But it is not a sign of health that equal drive and energy are absent in local congregations, that our folk are content to be led and spoon fed. The superstructure of the Church is out of proportion; there must be a strengthening of the foundations. In a recent Manifesto put out by the London Missionary Society great stress was given to the need to pay attention to local congregations in their national setting. What would be the fate of the Indian Church if the superstructure were suddenly swept away? It is clear that those local churches that have developed their own inner resources and a sense of self-reliance would best survive.

The Place of the Church Meeting. Is there any reason why the Congregational Church Meeting should not be organized in every parish of the C.S.I.? R. W. Dale once wrote, "To be at a Church Meeting—apart from any prayer offered, any hymn sung, any words spoken, is for me one of the chief means of grace. To know that I am surrounded by men and women who dwell in God, who have received the Holy Ghost, with whom I am to share the eternal righteousness and the eternal rapture of the life to come, this is blessedness. I breathe a divine air . . . . I rejoice in the joy of Christ over those whom He has delivered from eternal death and lifted to the light and glory of God. The Kingdom of Heaven is there." Such is the fellowship of the Church, or such it can be. While the writer was in England last year it was his privilege to be associated for a time with a North London Congregational church

where both minister and people recognize the rightful place of the church meeting. The quality of Christian fellowship was deeply impressive. Here indeed was a company of those who 'had covenanted with Christ and with one another to walk in His ways and seek His will', communicant members who meet every month for the study of God's Word and the consideration of the affairs of their church. Here is a body of responsible Christian people who love their church and whose concern is to build up its fellowship both locally and ecumenically. Now C.S.I. members of S.I.U.C. tradition, who are long familiar with church meetings, may say at once that the above is an idealization. Admittedly there are many churches, both in India and the West, where church meetings are but a travesty of the ideal, but it is not without profound significance that, today in England, there are Anglican priests who have organized such church meetings in their parishes and who witness to the new life created thereby.

The Methodist Class Meeting. Is there any reason why this too should not be organized in every parish in the C.S.I.? The history of Methodism reveals what a central place this weekly meeting has had, and how personal religion has thereby been nourished. The organizing of half a dozen such classes, deliberately cutting across all caste and vocational barriers, would do much in India to obviate any incipient party spirit, and to maintain a high level of fellowship. What an ideal supplement to the church meeting.

An Experiment at Dornakal. The Andhra Union Theological College has brought to Dornakal, an ex-Anglican centre, representatives from the other Churches, and local leaders have prayerfully considered this whole question of integration at the level of the local congregation. A church meeting was called of all confirmed members belonging to the parish, and it was decided to readjust the existing ecclesiastical arrangements in order to make possible the introduction of the Congregational church meeting and the Methodist class meetings. An *ad hoc* committee was entrusted with the task of preparing a simple constitution, and nine elders, two of whom are women, were appointed by the whole gathered church. The main burden will be carried by the elders' meeting rather than the church meeting which will hear reports and give general advice. New members will be received by the whole church after their names have been finally approved by the church meeting and the Bishop.

We believe God has led us to take these steps in integrating our various traditions, and that under His guidance the local church will thereby be blessed. We hope that later on it may be possible to come to a common mind in the matter of alternative forms of worship.

REVIEWS

The reviews are in four divisions:

Theology and relevant studies: works of scholarship ranging from dogmatic theology and church history to psychology and cosmology.

Religion, life and work: books concerned with the daily application of religion and its popular exposition.

Miscellanea, a limited selection from current general literarature.

Periodical publications.

THEOLOGY
AND RELEVANT STUDIES

The Christian Understanding of God. By NELS F. S. FERRE. 277 pp. S.C.M. 18s.

In this profound work Professor Ferré sets himself a task which we all would gladly have done. He is aware, as many in and outside the Roman Church are aware, that the traditional 'metaphysics' (I would prefer that word here to 'philosophies') which have been used to articulate Christian Faith have been somewhat ill adapted at points; and he makes the attempt in this book to derive from the basic insights of faith itself a metaphysic that is, as it were, native to Christian faith. The result is certainly interesting, and however much we may trace the influence of Whitehead and the Existentialists in Professor Ferré's writings, he always goes on with his statements to a point that leaves it clear that he has certainly outrun his masters. Indeed one of the difficulties I have had in the first two readings of this book is an almost bewildering profusion of metaphysical allusion.

Professor Ferré seeks to frame a metaphysic from the basic Christian assertion that God is love. In his view this requires much modification of traditional views. For example, God is as much becoming as He is being, if His nature be love. Eternity, on this view, cannot be a-temporal, but must be a temporal concept. It is impossible to do justice to all the important themes of this book, and we will therefore comment briefly on two of them.

When the author writes, "God is a personal spirit; He is love; He is fellowship. Such being requires personal relations and such personal relations involve succession," his argument sounds convincing. Yet he has failed to state one important element in the situation, which is that if we are to think about God's nature as personal spirit at all, we have to think of Him, as of everything else, with our own time-space-conditioned mentalities. It may therefore only be true to say that if we are to articulate God's existence as personal spirit to ourselves we cannot avoid thinking of Him as involved in succession. It is interesting to note that on Professor Ferré's assumptions the theosophists' doctrine of reincarnation seems to provide some real attraction. That must surely lead to a diminishing of the Bible's note of urgency in evangelism. Why worry now if there are other existences to come? The choice for the theosophist is not life or death, but better or worse conditions for life in a future incarnation.

This may lead to some reference to Dr. Ferré's views on the Last Things, where he has nobly and fearlessly tried consistently to pursue his philosophic theme of love. But even he finds it hard to take the Gospel at its full height of love's absurdity. "We can never", he says, "be saved by deeds. Our own righteousness cannot avail to merit heaven. . . . This does not mean,

however, that righteousness is not fulfilled. God gives us new desires, will and strength to fulful righteousness even through Christ, *but fulfilled it must be.* Not, however, individualistically, as in Hindu karma, *but creatively and socially"* (italics mine). But surely the Christian view is that Christ himself is our righteousness. The Reformation principle of Justification by Faith is surely the ultimate eschatological as well as the ultimate soteriological principle.

I could wish that Professor Ferré had spelt *kronos* as *chronos,* as the Greek word really requires and our English derivatives exemplify. And what a pity that this first edition let in a whole series of wrong letters (six times a Greek 'u' for a Greek 'n') on page 244. But I warmly commend this book. In some ways it will shock the Orthodox and the biblicists; but the better of them will be grateful to be thus disturbed—and all to see whether "God is love" can be made metaphysically central. Every minister who is prepared to think should buy it. JOHN MARSH.

God and the World. By T. M. FORSYTH. 160 pp. Allen & Unwin. 10s. 6d.

Christian Faith and the Scientific Attitude. By W. A. WHITEHOUSE. 149 pp. Oliver & Boyd. 12s. 6d.

These books could well have followed closer on the heels of Mr. Fred Hoyle's *Nature of the Universe.* Prof. Forsyth's book shows us that there is a quite other way of looking at the Universe than the astrophysicist's, and Mr. Whitehouse demonstrates that the two ways of looking are not necessarily incompatible. Mr. Fred Hoyle is an excellent astrophysicist, but, as he himself admits, no philosopher. His book gave an excellent conspectus of modern knowledge on the structure of the Universe. There is always a beyond to the advancing curtain of knowledge, and Mr. Hoyle came down perhaps a little too assuredly on the side of the view that the planets in our system arose from the break up of another star and that the apparent accelerating regression of nebulae is due to a continuous expansion of the Universe which in turn is due to the continuous creation of new matter. Having come so near to providence and theism, his book ended with a few sad pages that showed that scientific acuteness, philosophical insight and an appreciation of what Christianity is really about do not necessarily go together. Here we do well to take up Prof. Forsyth's book. He would be far too modest to quote the words put by James Bridie into Mr. Bolfry's mouth: "You can't organize and expound the sentient Universe simply by being good at sums." But his careful and cautious approach to the ultimate problems of the Universe shows how right Mr. Bolfrey was. Dr. Forsyth has no short and easy answer; but he shows how a theistic interpretation of the Universe is approached on converging lines by Plato, Aristotle, Spinoza, Bergson and Whitehead. There is no simply satisfying solution; but we are left humbly confident of an immanent deity with transcendent being and purpose. The last chapter contains wise reflections on the recurring problems: being and becoming, time and eternity, finite and infinite, man's place in the cosmos, the goodness and love of God. I don't suppose Dr. Forsyth worries much as to how God made the Universe. He is more concerned as to why He made it and what He is like.

We should now be ready to appreciate Mr. Whitehouse's book. He could follow Mr. Hoyle's calculations better than most of us, as his first degree was at Cambridge in Mathematics. Having become "good at sums" he went to Oxford and gave equal time to the study of philosophy and theology. His work is, I think, to be regarded as a personal testament rather than an objective discussion, but it is none the less valuable for that. The first quarter of his book expounds and justifies the scientific approach, shows how its methods have affected other studies, and that neither its

attitude nor methods can be excluded from the religious realm. Having convinced the most hard-headed of his down-to-earthness, the main part of his book expounds the reasons for his acceptance of God as Father, Jesus Christ as His Word and Son, and the Holy Spirit as His personalized operating power. His standpoint is frankly Barthian, and his theology rests on revelation and experience rather than on philosophy, though he is sound enough on the latter. The last part deals with a variety of problems: reconciling the frank acceptance of scientific method and a revealed faith; the problems arising in the sociological and political spheres; and so forth.

The general effect of the book is bracing. Here is a man of informed intellectual honesty, who faces the Universe as science finds it to be and can still confidently retain a Christian faith scrutinized at every point. His book should be read by all who fear lest Science should have taken away their Lord. He justifies his right to pen his confident concluding sentence: "The door into the Church still stands open, and a scientific attitude is no bar to the life of faith." A. R. VINE.

Reason and Anti-Reason in Our Time. By KARL JASPERS. 96 pp. S.C.M. 7s. 6d.

Still they come, these books of Existentialist philosophy and commentaries on Existentialist philosophers! In this book Karl Jaspers takes up his position in regard to one of the really important issues of our time. There is today no common ground among philosophers, yet such a common ground is essential to any resumption of the philosophical debate, now made impossible amid the jangle of unintelligible tongues. Nowhere, except perhaps in religion, is the problem of communication more acute. Professor Jaspers rediscovers this common ground in the self-evident faculty of Reason. Science, of course, is an essential part of reason, and to the nature of scientific method the first of these lectures is devoted.

The prestige of modern science has led us to see the scientific method as fundamental in philosophy. Yet the *meaning* of science is no longer grasped, for it is found only by an approach of a very different kind from that offered by scientific methodology itself. The fact that this approach has not been found accounts for the vogue of Marxist and Freudian "pseudo-sciences", whose errors can be corrected only by a truth other than that which Science can provide. This truth is offered by Reason, to whose exposition the remaining lectures in this little book are devoted. Reason is the passion for unity, and Truth can be found only by the seeker whose own personal being is unified. Moreover, Truth demands to be communicated and ceases to be Truth where such communication is impossible.

The book contains a useful bibliography of the writings of this philosopher. H. F. LOVELL COCKS.

The Subtle Knot. Creative Scepticism in Seventeenth Century England. By MARGARET L. WILEY. 303 pp. Allen & Unwin. 25s.

The title of this book is taken from Donne's poem "The Exstasie". The reference is to man's double nature. By his reason he is akin to God, and yet by his bodily senses he is allied to the beasts. His life proceeds in the attempt to unite the disparate elements.

The alternative title relates this general theme to the needs of our own time. Our century is an age of transition and travail. Its first half has been marked by great wars and tremendous changes, political, social and intellectual. It is natural that we should look back to the past for help and guidance. Where is that to be found? The historical parallel with our age is not in the nineteenth century with its romantic optimism, nor yet in the eighteenth century with its optimistic rationalism. It is in the seventeenth century, which was also a time of war and political, social and

intellectual change. It was a century that expressed itself, not in rationalism, romanticism or optimism, but in a scepticism, which yet was not mere negation and nihilism—it was creative, pursuing the gleam of hope, through the clouds of turmoil and trouble.

In her book Dr. Wiley first explains carefully that this is the kind of scepticism in which she is interested. It stands for a reflection that refuses to assent to authoritative dogma, believing that all human truth is imperfect and can be expressed in symbols only. Such a scepticism rejoices in paradox, sustaining itself by a mystical apprehension of God, in whom alone is perfect truth in which all paradoxes are resolved.

The argument is carried on with the help of innumerable quotations from modern authors, who have treated of scepticism and the seventeenth century. So we come to the core of the book, which is a study of five exponents of the seventeenth century scepticism. Very varied they are. There is John Donne, sceptical poet; then follows Sir Thomas Browne emphasizing paradox. After that comes Richard Baxter, vexed with the problem of certainty. Then Jeremy Taylor, sceptic and churchman. Last of all is the man in whom the scepticism of the seventeenth century becomes self-conscious, Joseph Glanville, who wrote "The Vanity of Dogmatizing".

After a condemnation of the eighteenth century for its rationalistic revolt from scepticism, the book concludes with a short reference to the present, where the author sees a renewal of scepticism in the existentialism typified by Sartre. The essence of his philosophy is that life comes before creed. Man does not accept his belief ready-made, but makes it as he goes.

Dr. Wiley has a good subject, and has read enormously. But in the first part of the book the quotations from others, individually excellent, are so multiplied as to promote weariness. The best part of the work is the study of the five "sceptics". It is well done, and Dr. Wiley works out interestingly the common trend of thought in men outwardly so different. If the Prologue is much too long, the Epilogue relating the subject to our own time might well be fuller, and deal with more than Sartre. ROBERT S. FRANKS.

The Holy Bible: Revised Standard Version. Nelson. 30s.

Readers will be familiar with the Revised Standard Version of the New Testament which was published in 1946 as a revision of the American counterpart of our Revised Version, the Standard Version of 1901. This revision went much farther than its predecessors which, while more accurate that the Authorized Version of 1611, retained much of the archaic language, and is widely regarded as the best version we have, combining accuracy with dignified, simple diction. The present beautifully produced volume completes a task which was first authorized in 1937. The text is printed in two columns, not across the page as in the separate edition of the New Testament. This means that the type is somewhat smaller, but the other style would have been impossible in a volume of manageable size.

An interesting preface gives some useful general information on the methods adopted in making this revision. Since the New Testament volume first appeared, it has been found advisable to make certain changes, and about eighty of these are incorporated in the present edition. Where, in the Old Testament, one or more of the ancient versions is preferred to the Hebrew, the version (or versions) is specified in a footnote. Sometimes, where no ancient reading yields a satisfactory sense, a probable reconstruction is adopted and indicated. Attention is drawn to the increased knowledge of Semitic languages which aids the understanding of the Hebrew text just as the knowledge of first-century Greek throws a flood of light on the text of the New Testament. An interesting reversion to the practice of the Authorized Version is the use of the word LORD instead of the

"Jehovah" of the Standard Version. This will not affect British readers of the Revised Version, which retained the older and far more justifiable rendering of the divine name. Poetry is, happily, printed as poetry. But it seems a pity that enigmatic terms such as *maskil, shiggaion,* and *sheminith* in the titles of some of the Psalms are left untranslated.

Like the New Testament portion, the version of the Old Testament deserves to be widely known and used by lovers of the Bible. Never before has the English reader had the scriptures at his disposal in a form so attractive, so intelligible, and so faithful to the ancient tongues in which they were first composed. A. J. B. HIGGINS.

Old Testament Apocalyptic: Its Origin and Growth. By S. B. FROST. 270 pp. Epworth Press. 22s. 6d.

The need for an assessment of the contribution of apocalyptic to Christian theology justifies an attempt at a new survey of its development in the Old Testament period. With this I Enoch is included. The earlier stages in Hebrew prophecy are traced and the theory of an orderly development put forward. This leads to a certain artificiality in the evaluation of the material and there are many points at which critical attitudes are proclaimed which are exegetically questionable. The treatment, for example, of Ezekiel leaves much to be desired, and should at least take note of Bertholet-Galling's commentary.

The chapter on Daniel (pp. 178 ff) is also unsatisfactory. The view that the materials can be chronologically arranged to show the development of the writer's thought is not very convincing. Such logical progress is hardly to be expected, any more than the exclusion of all hopeful material from pre-exilic prophecy can be justified on the view that it would be inconsistent in the prophets to fluctuate from doom to hope (p. 47). Insufficient attention has been paid to the psychology of inspiration, prophetic and apocalytic, and condemnation of the "deception" practised by apocalyptists is rather inept (e.g. p. 204). The chapter on foreign influences (pp. 71 ff.) is quite inadequate in view of the firm statements which are made, for example as to Iranian influence in the New Testament period (p. 252). The pseudonymity of much apocalytic writing is mentioned but never fully examined, and Professor Rowley's view of Daniel deserves more discussion than a mere quotation from T. F. Glasson (p. 146).

The author has a habit of using Latin tags and foreign words, often without adequate justification or explanation. This is largely unnecessary, but when a section is summed up with a quotation in German—untranslated and with three errors in the German—then a strong protest must be made (p. 208). The whole work shows signs of too hasty publication, with the result that much useful and stimulating material is obscured. There is room for very extensive revision. PETER R. ACKROYD.

According to the Scriptures. By C. H. DODD. 145 pp. Nisbet. 10s. 6d.

In this book Professor Dodd gives us the benefit of his examination of the use of the Old Testament in the New. It is no mere catalogue of quotations, but an attempt to observe how the first Christians related their basic faith to the revelation of God in previous history, and thereby won a clearer understanding of it. If the *kerygma* is the "ground-plan of N.T. Theology", the searching of the Scriptures by believers may be compared to the "superstructure" (p. 13).

Rendel Harris used to argue that the early Christians worked with a book of Testimonies, a sort of anthology of O.T. quotations, and the theory has attracted more recent scholars. Dodd now replaces it with the more

comprehensive theory that what the early Christians did was not to quote from an aurthorized collection of texts, but rather to turn to certain O.T. contexts as specially illuminating the great act of God in Jesus. After setting out the 15 explicit O.T. quotations in the N.T., Dodd notes that "the unit of reference was sometimes wider than the usually brief form of words actually quoted", and proceeds to study these wider sources, e.g. Isa. liii or groups of chapters like Zech. ix—xiv. Dodd shows how these were taken to illustrate the facts of N.T. experience and to elucidate such mysteries as the opposition of the Jews, the suffering of the Redeemer himself and the theme of final consummation. This selection from the O.T. was not done once for all, but was a process of research continuing throughout the whole of the N.T. period, though certainly beginning before the writings of Paul, and originating, Dodd thinks, in the mind of the Lord himself.

E. C. BLACKMAN.

The Formation of the New Testament. By H. F. D. SPARKS. 172 pp. S.C.M. 13s. 6d.

There is no lack of introductions to the New Testament. But here is one with a difference. Professor Sparks claims that the merit of his book "is that it does at least try to present the literature of the New Testament against its historical background and to relate it to the life of the Church". In this attempt he has achieved considerable success, and he is to be congratulated on his very clear and succinct treatment of complex problems for the benefit of the beginner in the subject. Many, however, who are already familiar with the subject will profit from perusing this book as a sort of "refresher course". Refreshing it certainly is. The New Testament is "the Church's Book" not only as the possession but also as the product of the church, because its members wrote it. The formation of the New Testament is traced from the beginnings in the primitive oral preaching, and the various books are treated according to their position in the growth of the church. The final chapter is a brief sketch of the growth of the canon. Along with our twenty-seven many other books were produced, some of which in some places enjoyed a considerable, but temporary, authority. Why these twenty-seven, and no others? Because the church so decided. The New Testament is "the Church's Book" in this sense also. Professor Sparks will not have the New Testament divorced from the church, much less set above the church as a superior authority.

The Dominion of Christ, by L. S. Thornton (Dacre Press, 25s.), is the second of three volumes, of which the first was *Revelation and the Modern World,* under the general title "The Form of the Servant". There are two parts: Book I, "Christ and Creation" and Book II, "Conflict and Victory". The dominion of Christ is studied from the biblical theological standpoint "as a sovereign process of divine activity restoring the original plan of creation". The unity between the two Testaments is taken as axiomatic, and is treated with the leading emphasis on the cross-connexions between this unity and that between creation and redemption. The cosmic drama of creation, conflict and rebirth which is unfolded in the history of Israel is recapitulated in Christ. There is much that is original and profound in the working out of this theme, but it may sometimes be doubted whether the New Testament writers were themselves conscious of all that Dr. Thornton draws out of their words. For example, the Holy Innocents, because they are called *paides* (children) and the singular *pais* can also mean "the Servant", are "prototypes of all those who are destined to be participators in the Servant's passion". The book will repay careful study, but is not easy reading.

A. J. B. HIGGINS.

The Crisis in the Life of Jesus. By ERNEST F. SCOTT. 152 pp. Charles Scribner, New York. 12s. 6d.

The "crisis" in Dr. Scott's book is the incident of the Cleansing of the Temple which the author sees as a decisive act which has not received the attention it really merits. He clearly brings out its historicity, gives preference to the Synoptic dating, and treats the Cleansing as the focus of the ministry of Jesus, a Messianic act asserting His Messiahship in the nearest approach which He ever made to a public proclamation. His Mission was of a piece throughout, and the Cleansing was an essential link between the days in Galilee and the Passion, and the key to much that is otherwise perplexing in the Gospels. The thesis that all the primary questions in the history of Jesus are involved in this one act—His attitude to Judiasm, His claim to be the Messiah, the aims of His Mission, and the causes of His condemnation and death—is worked out in a manner which is simple though somewhat repetitive. One cannot avoid the feeling that, important as the Cleansing was, Dr. Scott has concentrated undue attention on it to the exclusion of other decisive acts of Jesus. W. GORDON ROBINSON.

Two further publications in the series *Bible Key Words* (translated from Kittel's Theological Dictionary by J. R. Coates) are *Apostleship* by K. H. Rengstorf and *Gnosis* by Rudolf Bultmann. They are published by A. and C. Black at 7s. 6d. each. Rengstorf's essay has already influenced British theological thinking by its discussion of the similarity and difference between the Jewish institution of the *shaliah* and the New Testament apostleship, and it is also notable for its comparison of the apostle Paul with Jeremiah. Bultmann's study is precise and illuminating on the difference between Jewish and Hellenistic conceptions of knowledge, and shows how New Testament writers make use of Gnostic terms to set forth the Christian message.

Those who know Professor Bultmann's scholarship may not always agree with his theology. Professor Ian Henderson of Glasgow has done us a service in giving us an accurate survey of the background of the controversy over Professor Bultmann's theology in his study *Myth in the New Testament* (S.C.M., 7s.). Neither Professor Bultmann's radical scholarship nor his confident exposition of essential philosophy seem likely to commend themselves to British thinkers; but the question which he has raised, how can the New Testament speak the truth of God into our very different background, is important.

We hear much about Biblical theology these days, and Professor G. Ernest Wright's *God Who Acts,* Biblical theology as recital (S.C.M., 8s.), is a stimulating introduction to work in progress. It is especially to be commended for discussing how to find a place for the wisdom literature in our understanding of the theological unity of the Bible, and for a useful discussion of the possible meanings of the word 'myth'. But the lack of a clear understanding of the relation of Biblical theology to Systematic theology makes this very much an interim report.

The first of a series of Ecumenical Bible Studies, *The Biblical Doctrine of Work* by Canon Alan Richardson (S.C.M., 5s.), is exceptionally well done. Canon Richardson avoids all the obvious pitfalls and provides a conspectus of the Bible teaching about work in relation to the present day which will correct many wrong ideas and give a guide to realistic Christian thinking.
H. CUNLIFFE-JONES.

Thomas Becon and the Reformation of the Church in England. By D. S. BAILEY. 155 pp. Oliver & Boyd. 15s.

At Cambridge Thomas Becon (1512-1567) was influenced by Latimer and became a Protestant. In 1541 he recanted; but in retirement he changed

his name and issued several Protestant tracts. For these he again recanted two years later, but again he continued his literary labours in retirement. He welcomed the triumph of Protestantism under Edward, and within six weeks of Mary's accession in July, 1553, he was imprisoned in the Tower. From the following March until her death he was in exile, first at Frankfurt and later at Marburg. On his return to England under Elizabeth he became a Canon of Canterbury, where he died in 1567.

Dr. Bailey describes Becon's writings, 69 of which he lists in a bibliography, as essentially propaganda, by their extensive biblical citations familiarizing the common people with the Bible at a time when they were forbidden to possess it and "by a process of insinuation and repetition" also familiarizing them with Protestant doctrine. The most popular was *The Sick Man's Salve,* which ran into at least 19 editions by 1632 and is mentioned by Ben Jonson. "As tracts for the times they are admirable", his "outbursts of coarse vituperation" being "perhaps not the least of the factors making for Becon's popularity". On his character Dr. Bailey wavers between attributing his recantations to policy and adiaphorism and his retirements to prudence and finding in him a "deeply-rooted uncertainty". The book is an abbreviated Edinburgh Ph.D. thesis and is a careful piece of work. Dr. Bailey wisely resists the temptation to treat Becon as more important than in fact he was. GEOFFREY F. NUTTALL.

Correspondence and Minutes of the S.P.C.K. relating to Wales, 1699-1740. Edited by MARY CLEMENT. (Board of Celtic Studies, University of Wales, History and Law Series, No. 10). Cardiff: University of Wales Press. 369 pp. 30s.

We have here a detailed work providing a very welcome contribution to the history of the revival of religion in this country. It clearly shows how far astray is the idea that in the eighteenth century religion was virtually dead. Those who think this must be singularly unaware of the aims and achievements of the Society for the Promotion of Christian Knowledge. The S.P.C.K. has always been very much more than the admirable publishing-house which the initials suggest today, though from the outset it has been concerned with the dissemination of moral and religious books. In Dr. Clement's words, "The spiritual needs of the Plantations in North America and the West Indies, the reformation of prisons throughout the country, the regulation of play-houses, the establishment of libraries both at home and abroad, are among the many things which held the interest of the Society from the beginning, and, in every sphere of its work, Welshmen stand out conspicuously", pre-eminently Sir John Philipps, Bt., of Picton Castle, Pembrokeshire. Sir John was a commissioner both for the building of 50 new churches in London and for the financial help of French Protestant refugees. He was also a keen supporter of the Society's missions abroad. But that a Welshman should be specially concerned for his own people was natural. He founded as many as 20 S.P.C.K. Charity Schools in Pembrokeshire and Carmarthenshire, and "there is hardly a page in the MSS. of the Society's correspondence, for a period of over thirty years, which does not bear a reference from Sir John to conditions in his own country".

Extracts from these MSS. have been printed before—notably, in relation to Wales, in an article by Thomas Shankland in the *Transactions* of the Cymmrodorion Society for 1904/5—but never so extensively. Dr. Clement presents 194 pp. of abstracts of letters from Welsh correspondents, 47 pp. of abstracts of letters to Welsh correspondents, 73 pp. of minutes relating to Wales and 20 pp. of special letters concerning Wales. There are also

503 footnotes, mostly biographical, and an index running to 25 pp., both of which are helpful, though uneven and sometimes confused. To the modesty which lies behind the regrettable absence of a bibliography—for Dr. Clement has prepared her own way with contributions in *Y Llenor*, *Seren Gomer* and elsewhere—may be attributed the still more regrettable lack, apart from 3 pp. of introduction, of any interpretation of the material provided. For this one many still turn with benefit to Shankland's article. Unfortunately to do so leads one to lose confidence in both the exhaustiveness and the accuracy of Dr. Clement's transcripts. The book is also studded with misprints, mostly obvious rather than misleading. Despite these serious blemishes, it should become a standard work, nor only in reference to Wales: it contains inexpugnable evidence of the nature and extent of Christian piety and philanthropy in the early eighteenth century.

GEOFFREY F. NUTTALL.

Biskopstillsättningar I Sverige, 1531-1951. Av Sven Kjöllerström. Lunds Universitets Arskrift, Lund. Kr. 20.
(The Appointment of Bishops in Sweden, 1531-1951. By Sven Kjöllerström. Lund University Publications.)

This is a detailed history of the practice of episcopal election in Sweden over a period of four centuries. The author begins his enquiry with the Reformation episcopacy and continues it to the present day. The present practice is provided for by a law of 1759, by which an election of a bishop shall take place on a date recommended to the king by the cathedral chapter. All the clergy of the diocese, together with the chapter, participate in the voting for which three nominations are offered. The list is presented to the king, who makes his choice from the three candidates. When an Archbishop is required he is voted for by all the cathedral chapters and the Uppsala clergy, though as the Archbishop is also pro-chancellor of the university the Uppsala professors have the right to vote. Herr Kjöllerström points out, incidentally, that the Archbishop is regarded as a representative of the Swedish church externally as well as internally, and that the interests of the State precede those of the episcopate.

Although a scholarly piece of work, the appeal of this book is limited by its having been written in Swedish. GERAINT V. JONES.

The One Church in the Light of the New Testament. By CLARENCE TUCKER CRAIG. 128 pp. Epworth. 10s. 6d.

The Misunderstanding of the Church. By EMIL BRUNNER. Lutterworth Press. 10s. 6d.

There is no end to the spate of books being written about the meaning of the Church, and no one can or ought to read them all. But each of these books has something to give to those who care to read them. The title of Professor Craig's book ought to be: The one Church in the light of the New Testament and of the contemporary situation from a Methodist's standpoint. He gives an excellent introduction in simple language to the contemporary ecumenical discussion of the nature of the Church which would hearten the Free Church readers who are in any doubt about the importance of their own churchmanship. The reviewer does not know which to admire most—Professor Craig's scholarship or his practical experience of contemporary Church life. He is a Methodist but he does not obtrude his Methodism. Rather, he gives a balanced survey of the present discussion of the Church on which those who belong to the Free Churches may place considerable reliance. He is at pains to point out factors in the New Testament which indicate that the churches were not completely autonomous.

This is well done, though there is a truth and a greatness in Congregationalism which Professor Craig has not yet seen. His discussion of baptism is excellent within its limits, but some issues are not mentioned. I warmly commend his book.

The title of Emil Brunner's book may also mislead. If he had called it 'The Church is not the Ecclesia of the New Testament', he would have stated his main theme. Characteristic phrases are 'Canon law is a substitute for the Spirit' (p. 51) and 'Church order is a substitute for the banished pneuma' (p. 90). Dr. Brunner holds that the Ecclesia of the New Testament was a fellowship and not an institution, and that standpoint gives him a basis for criticising the whole of institutional Christianity, by no means excluding the Reformed tradition. His conclusion is that the present task of the Churches is to further the growth of the Ecclesia within them (p. 107). The advantage of this position is that it leaves Dr. Brunner free to contemplate without inhibition the idea of radical institutional change in the present situation, and that it also enables him to make clear the difference between accepting the New Testament and accepting Early Catholicism as the norm of Church Unity. There are passages which those who think that our present duty consists in an approach to Canterbury would do well to study. The disadvantage of Professor Brunner's position is that it is, to the present reviewer, quite incredible. A fellowship completely devoid of all elements of institutional life is not a historic entity at all. But the book is certainly a great stimulus to reflection.

H. CUNLIFFE-JONES.

Congregationalism: A Study in Church Polity. By DOUGLAS HORTON. 96 pp. Independent Press. 6s.

Those who attended the May Meetings in 1951 will recognize in part of this book the address which Dr. Horton gave to the Assembly in that year. The author has added other matter to it, and has given us a study of Church Polity from the Congregationalist point of view. A good deal of illustration and some of the significance of points made has its real home in America rather than in Britain, but I hope that that will not deter British Congregationalists from pondering this book or the Union of England and Wales from taking concrete steps to carry the discussion further.

In general let it be said that this is a most welcome statement of Congregational principles, and if the reviewer confines himself to asking searching questions, that is a tribute to its adequacy rather than a complaint. The first 'essay' deals with the basic Congregationalist conviction that the Congregation is the heart of the Church: but this is really but a thematic prelude developed in the rest of the book, and we shall have to return to it at the close.

Dr. Horton passes to the discussion of the Nature and Power of Councils —or, as we might put it, the nature and authority of County and National Unions; this is clearly a problem for an understanding of Church life that is centred in the local congregation. Dr. Horton says all the right things, and powerfully expounds the view that such Councils have ministerial and not magisterial authority, as we were taught to express it when the Presbyterian-Congregationalist conversations were going on. But I should have like the analysis carried a little further, and the fullness of our theology on this matter made manifest. Consider the question as it presents itself in the persons of the members sent as delegates from the churches that constitute an Assembly. Do they bring from their churches an authority that is then possessed by the Assembly? Or do they in and as the Assembly mediate a new authority as such? Can we impart authority to Assembly decisions by instructing our delegates (as constituencies and Trades Unions do for

the Labour Party Conference) or do they constitute a sort of Congregation on their own, and so have an independent and new authority? I think the answer is nearer this latter view, but for a reason which I think John Owen made clearer than Dr. Horton. There is only one *authority* in the Church—Jesus Christ. He is present, we believe, with his local Congregation; but He is also present, we affirm, in the duly constituted Assembly. If the Assembly listens for His voice and transmits that to the constituent Churches, then it has all the authority it wants: none of its own, but all of Christ's. In that consists its ministerial function. And each Church, receiving a communication from an Assembly, must satisfy itself as to the manner in which the message from the Assembly was sought and received from Christ; and if it be satisfied, it cannot but accept it as from the Lord.

Dr. Horton then goes on to deal with 'the unreasonableness of the separation'. I fear we shall be sorely tempted to accept what he says too readily, for if he be right, we are of all people the most reasonable, the least responsible for "our unhappy divisions" or their prolongation, and the most adaptable and likely starting point for a new "union all round". All this I believe to be true, but if we are to say so, we need to say much more. Dr. Horton's point is that with our emphasis upon the centrality of the congregation we offer for re-union, as it were, a ready made basis which every church has. Not all have bishops, or creeds, or elders, but all have a congregation. But it is not as simple as that. And I am inclined to think that while we hold that a congregation is central and essential, we should want to add that it was not sufficient. *Some* element of belief is necessary—there are, as I suppose, Mohammedan, Buddhist and Jewish congregations—and some sort of order and ministry: and it is when we try to define these that we are cast into our ecumenical differences. I do not think therefore that Dr. Horton has fully made out his case for an exhaustive division into Congregational and non-Congregational unity, for our Congregational unity consists, essentially consists, in more than an affirmation of communion between congregations. "Our communion (fellowship) is with the Father and with his Son Jesus Christ".

JOHN MARSH.

The *Proceedings of the Eighth Ecumenical Methodist Conference* held at Oxford in 1951 (Epworth Press, 17s. 6d.) deserves a longer notice than can here be given. It is a compendium of information concerning the belief and practices of Methodism throughout the world. Although, as one might expect, the undertone of the all-sufficiency of John Wesley is never quite absent, there is singularly little real prejudice and in one paper (by Dr. Lynn Harold Hough) there is handsome acknowledgment of Methodism's debt to Congregationalist divines. There is an awareness of world problems and on the whole the ecumenical note struck by the Bishop of Manchester at the beginning is sustained to the end. Some papers are of a high order of scholarship, of which those by Professor C. A. Coulson on Scientific Humanism, Raymond George on Recent Theological Tendencies, Dr. W. Cannon of Atlanta on Justification by Faith, President Lee of Dallas on Methodism and the Catholic Tradition and Mr. G. Rupp on Methodism and the Protestant Tradition may stand as samples. The Conference is one more example of the sydicalist drift in all the churches today towards strengthening denominational ties across the world even more than co-operation with other churches of the homeland. A. V. MURRAY.

Christian Missions and the Judgment of God. By D. M. PATON. 79 pp. S.C.M. 6s. 6d.

Mr. Paton's experience as a missionary in China has convinced him that "God's judgment today is being executed upon His Church by political

movements which are anti-Christian" (p. 18). He touches upon the relations between Christianity and Marxian Communism, the effect of nationalism on the Church's mission, missions and imperialism, the strategy of "spontaneous expansion" and the failure of traditional missionary methods to achieve it, the responsibility of the missionary in politics, Church and State, reunion, and several other subjects.

It is impossible in a brief notice to review fairly a book which covers so wide a range in a series of *obiter dicta*. Mr. Paton's comments are a useful stimulus to further thought on the radically new methods now required in the discharge of the Church's world mission, and many of them are profoundly important. But the book left one reader very dissatisfied, perhaps because, although it begins with a statement of Christian dogma, its thought appears to be more controlled by the effects of the contemporary social and political revolution than by that dogma which is its professed starting point. For instance, stress is laid upon the eschatological element in the Christian Gospel (p. 28 ff.); yet there is little attempt to discern the relationship between the final Lordship of Christ to his present Lordship in contemporary events—surely a fundamental question for any attempt to formulate a contemporary strategy for the world mission. Perhaps that is why Mr. Paton reiterates the assertion that Communism is a judgment on the Church's mission, but does not help us to see in what sense, if any, Communism is the product of demonic forces in defiance of, rather than the instruments of, God's judgment. Is not Communism also under judgment? If so, must we not at the same time as we say it is the judgment of God, also say it is *not* the judgment of God, but the work of the devil?

Dr. Geoffrey Parrinder has written an interesting account of the religious changes in Ibadan, Nigeria, resulting from "culture-contact" there. (*Religion in an African City*: 1953, O.U.P., 211 pp., 15s.)

He surveys pagan religion, the Christian Churches, including the separatist sects, and Islam. Some of his judgments (cp. that on polygamy p. 174) will give rise to discussion, but it is to be regretted that he has not gone beyond his mainly factual survey and applied some theological criteria to its results. Nevertheless, books dealing with the contemporary religious situation in areas of culture contact are all too rare, and Dr. Parrinder's is welcome. It is to be hoped it will stimulate similar surveys in other areas.

R. K. ORCHARD.

Vedanta for the Modern Man (Allen & Unwin, 25s.) is an anthology of over 60 articles reprinted from the American magazine "Vedanta and the West". It is edited by Christopher Isherwood, who also writes an Introduction. Authors include Gerald Heard, Aldous Huxley, Rabindra Nath Tagore, Jawaharlal Nehru and S. Radhakrishnan.

Religion in Human Experience by John R. Everett (Allen & Unwin, 30s.) aims at giving the general reader a better understanding of human religion as exemplified in four major faiths. A better title might have been "Religion in human thought and practice". After an introductory chapter on the Nature of Religion there follow competently written sections on Hinduism and Buddhism. More interesting to the Christian reader are the next two sections on Judaism and Christianity. H. V. MARTIN.

God and the Unconscious. By V. WHITE, with a foreword by C. G. JUNG. 277 pp. Harvill Press. 21s.

Fr. Victor White's academic prowess extends in almost every direction except perhaps to the correction of proofs. He is philosopher, theologian and psychologist. His book is not altogether homogeneous, for its various parts are not all directed to one circle of readers, but as a collection of papers it is a book of much significance to those who read or consider the new

medical psychology. The author treats very learnedly of Aristotle, St. Thomas Aquinas, C. G. Jung and the Gnostics, relating all these to that mysterious part of us we call the unconscious. The motive of the book seems to be to prove, primarily to the author's fellow-Romanists, that the psychology of Jung, as distinct from that of Freud or Adler, is very much on the side of the angels, that is, of the Aristotelian and Thomist philosophies, and that there is much to be learnt and nothing much to be feared from Jungian theory and practice. For many readers the most useful part of the book will be the author's brilliant exposition of Jung's mature position. "It seems that, whereas for Freud religion is a symptom of psychological disease, for Jung the *absence* of religion is at the root of all adult psychological disease". While some of the chapters are based on broadcast talks, the book as a whole is hardly popular, but it will be found of much interest and importance to theologians and professional psychologists.

N. MICKLEM.

Conscience and Reason. By GRACE STUART. 220 pp. Allen & Unwin. 15s.

This is a non-technical study of the psycho-analytical theory of the super-ego. The theme is that the sense of guilt, which is often morbid, may either goad or crush the individual, producing either aggressive or depressed persons who are incapable of full, happy, creative living. The super-ego needs to be re-educated, modified, and converted from a harsh tyrant into an encouraging and benevolent friend.

Unfortunately the exposition nowhere goes beyond the classic Freudian theory. The author takes her stand on the increasingly outmoded theory of biological instincts as the primary sources of motivation. Hers is a psychology of innate impulses and their management, either by harmful repression or enlightened directive control. Psycho-analysis is moving beyond this to the view that object-relations have primacy over instincts, and our anti-social drives are not instincts *per se*, but disturbed reactions to persecuting phantasied figures hidden in the unconscious. This deep level is the source of psychotic, neurotic, criminal, perverse, and other milder forms of disturbed social behaviour. Guilt and the super-ego constitute a major ego-defence against this dangerous inner mental world. Without guilt-repression there would be neither religion nor art, culture nor civilization.

A tyrannical super-ego and morbid guilt, which naturally are undesirable, are not, however, merely products of an over puritanical education. The individual develops a super-ego as severe as is necessary to control social manifestations of his internal objects and his bad reactions to them. Merely to weaken guilt may mean undermining a psychic defence, which may be compensated for by hysteric or psychosomatic illness. The problem of pathological guilt is thus far more complex, and less easily solved, than this book suggests. It is not simply a matter of conscious re-education, but of profoundly improved good-object relationships, right back to the earliest period of infancy where all really morbid developments begin.

HENRY GUNTRIP.

Les Frontières de la Morale et de la Religion, by Geddes MacGregor (Aubier, Paris, price not stated), is the work of a Scot writing in French. He divides his study into three parts. First he discusses the relation between ethics, metaphysics and religion. Next he analyses recent English work on the subject—Rashdall, Taylor, Gore, Temple and de Burgh. Finally he gives his conclusions, which are not easy to summarize. On their lower levels ethics and religion may appear to diverge, the former towards mere convention, æsthetics and intellectualism and the latter towards superstition

and magic. But on their higher levels, though there are tensions, there can and should be an integration.

The Episcopal Church, by W. H. Stowe (Church Historical Society, Philadelphia, 25 cents), is a concise but very readable account of the Episcopal Church in the United States.

History of the Wesleyan Reform Union, by W. H. Jones (Epworth, 5s.), gives an interesting account of the origin and history of one of the Methodist bodies which refrained from union both in 1907 and in 1932.

Lund 1952, by E. H. Robertson (S.C.M., 3s. 6d.), recounts the proceedings of the Third World Conference on Faith and Order. A vital report for all concerned with the ecumenical movement.

Congregationalism and Reunion, by P. T. Forsyth (Independent Press, 5s.), is a reprint of two essays thirty years old. Though in detail dated, the main arguments are still cogent. A. R. V.

The Threshold of Ethics. By K. E. Kirk. 171 pp. (Fourth Impression.) Skeffington. 8s. 6d.

In non-technical language the Bishop of Oxford considers those criticisms to which the accepted morality of the past is today subjected. Reasoning carefully he rescues ethics from the scepticism into which psychology and evolutionary thought have led it, rids us of ambiguity in the use of some of the commonest words in the language, and treats of the crucial introductory problems which must be faced.

Religion in the Modern World. Foreword by L. A. Reid. Allen & Unwin. 7s. 6d.

The inaugural lectures of The London School of Religion, first published in the Hibbert Journal, have now appeared in book-form, and illustrate the many-sided approach of the new School to religion. Well-known contributors, representing the Jewish, Hindu and Christian faiths, consider the nature of religious knowledge and whether or not scientific knowledge explains it away; they speculate on a synthesis of the truths of all religions, and finally set Christianity in relation to politics and economics in Great Britain. Conrad Bonifazi.

Butler's Moral Philosophy. By Austin Duncan Jones.

Peirce and Pragmatism. By W. B. Gallie.
Pelican Books. 2s. 6d. each.

These two books are from a series of philosophical works which are being issued so conveniently in this form. Peirce has for some time been increasingly spoken of as the real philosopher of the Pragmatism that William James popularized and in measure distorted.

Professor Duncan Jones has written an admirable account of Butler's Moral Philosophy, and if he has not seen all the connections between Butler's ethics and his theology, he is certainly in the right in insisting that for Butler, as for Kant, ethics was a thoroughly autonomous discipline. This is a series to look out for. John Marsh.

RELIGION
LIFE AND WORK

The Gospels Translated into Modern English. By J. B. PHILLIPS. Bles. 12s. 6d.

The very many who have found help and inspiration in Mr. Phillips's "Letters to Young Churches" will turn eagerly to this volume to see whether this translator has been as successful with the Gospels as with the Epistles. On the whole, they will not be disappointed, although it is likely to be their judgment that this is not quite as successful as the previous effort. This may be due to the fact that most people need more help with the Epistles than with the Gospels. Mr. Phillips says in his preface that in his view the best method to adopt in making a fair translation of the Gospels into modern English is to forget the beauty and majesty of the A.V. and to translate from the original with the same conscientiousness and freedom as one would use in translating any other document. With this one agrees entirely; and it must be said that Mr. Phillips is generally very successful. His translation is fresh, and obviously rests on good scholarship. Occasionally, as with "their lack of faith astonished him" and "everyone who makes himself important will become insignificant", he achieves 'finality'; but sometimes, as with "you utter bastard" (for 'thou wast altogether born in sins'), good taste and accurate scholarship are thrown to the winds. There are, however, very few such blemishes; and so far as we have been able to examine it carefully, this seems an excellent translation, though I doubt if the treatment of the genealogies in Matt. i 1 ff. and Luke iii 23 ff. can be called translation: brilliant tidying up and paraphrase, may be; but not translation! We hope that before too long Mr. Phillips will deal with the *Acts*. JOHN HUXTABLE.

Jesus and His Teaching. By NORMAN J. BULL. 254 pp. Religious Education Press. 7s. 6d.

Like its predecessors, this fifth volume in the series of Guides to Religious Education provides lesson outlines, background notes and suggestions for practical class work based upon the Agreed Syllabuses. The lessons are for senior scholars, and make expert use of the Bible. They demonstrate the uniqueness of Christ's teaching, its inseparableness from His Person, and show that within this total ministry lies the germ of a new community, the Church. CONRAD BONIFAZI.

We welcome another volume in the S.C.M. Torch series of commentaries: *The Gospel according to St. Matthew*, by G. E. P. Cox (168 pp., 9s.). The critical scholarship is well digested and made to serve the purpose of true exposition, and it is a welcome feature that the author thinks Biblically, i.e. in terms not of Matthew's Gospel only, but of basic Biblical teaching. The exposition succeeds where necessary in lifting a saying out of its first century clothing so that its permanent relevance is clear. There also are special notes, e.g. on Kingdom of Heaven, but not too many, and Mr. Cox's analysis of the Gospel into five books (not merely five great discourses) is illuminating, though it is a surprise to find the last three chapters called Epilogue.

The note on iv 17 needs to be expanded, and there is a slip on p. 122 where *moicheia* and *porneia* are not properly distinguished. But there is very little to find fault with in this commentary. E. C. BLACKMAN.

The Bible in Pictures, edited by RALPH KIRBY. 320 pp. Odhams. 15s.

This splendid volume is an attempt to tell the Gospel story, and some Old Testament stories, in pictures, with a minimum of letterpress. There are well over 1,000 illustrations. The value of the book would be enhanced for many if the descriptive captions were written in a non-Biblical style; and in some cases illustration should not have been attempted, as the Ascension, Jonah in the whale's belly, Ezekiel's valley of dry bones.

The Book of the Saviour, edited by F. J. SHEED. 337 pp. Sheed & Ward. 18s.

This is in its own way a Life of Christ, described in its various phases from Birth to Exaltation by a number of contributors, mostly contemporary, including writers like Hilaire Belloc and Chesterton, and theologians like Martindale and Karl Adam. There are also eight well-chosen illustrations from Old Masters. This is a beautiful book, impressive through fine writing and sound theology, and it will be regrettable if none but Roman Catholics read it. E. C. BLACKMAN.

Saints for Now Edited by CLARE B. LUCE. 277 pp. Sheed & Ward. 16s.

Let us not be put off by a queer title and queerer jacket, for this is a fine and stimulating book. The authoress persuaded a score of writers and artists to portray their favourite saints. The contributors include Alfred Noyes, Rebecca West, Barbara Ward, D. B. Wyndham Lewis, Salvator Dali; their subjects include some inescapables like Augustine, Francis of Assisi, Thomas Aquinas and Frances Xavier, and some less publicised like Radegund, Hilda of Whitby and Thérèse of Lisieux. All the essays are of high standard, dealing with their heroes from a modern point of view though of course with a Roman Catholic angle. It should be said there are only six illustrations, which, as is not unusual in these days, tell us more about the artists than the subjects. A. R. VINE.

Hymns and Human Life. By ERIK ROUTLEY. 346 pp. John Murray. 16s.

Dr. Routley goes from strength to strength as a hymnologist and puts us still further in his debt by his latest book on the subject in which he is rapidly becoming the foremost authority today. Designed as a companion volume to *The Psalms and Human Life* by Lord Ernle (R. E. Prothero), it stands in its own right as a most significant and entertaining contribution to the study of hymns and their writers. The first part, "The Story of Hymns", ranges through all the Christian centuries; the second, "The People in the Story", is ingeniously divided into homogenous chapters (e.g. one on "The Cloister and the Hearth" about Anglican hymn-writers and one on "The Manse, the Mission and the Presbytery" about Nonconformists, with a very good chapter on "Youth and Hymns" which breaks new ground); the third, on "Hymns and English Life", has a fascinating study of hymns that are favourites and an excellent final chapter on the criteria for judging hymns and how the masters achieved their mastery. The index is very complete and valuable, and there are some excellent notes. Dr. Routley's judgment is mature and firm yet charitable and understanding, his information wide-ranging, and his style attractive and witty. There are a few misprints (e.g. on pp. 145 and 258), but the book is beautifully produced and is a marvel at its price. It is interesting to see the high place which Dr. Routley judicially gives to *Congregational Praise*.

W. GORDON ROBINSON.

Albert Schweitzer: An Anthology. Edited by CHARLES R. JOY. 303 pp. A. and C. Black. 18s.

This is an enlarged British edition of a book published in America in 1947. It is precisely what it purports to be—an anthology—and it has all the merits and demerits of such literature. Inevitably the individual reader will wonder why the editor has missed all the 'best' passages, but inevitably too the reader who is ready to browse will come across new gems which he would never have quarried for himself. ROBERT S. PAUL.

William J. May has now written some forty books. Readable, wholesome and devout, they meet a real need. His latest book, *"Such Splendid People"*, (Independent Press, 6s.), gives us 24 sketches of good folk he has met in his ministry. They are set down "that faith in the goodness of human nature may be strengthened and renewed".

"Why Not Have a Drink?" by John Murray (Independent Press, paper, 2s. 6d.), is a piece of teetotal propaganda which is as able as it is interesting. Here is a book to take into the Minister's Class or Youth Club. As its facts and arguments are sharply debated, the way of Christian duty will be seen more clearly.

It is not surprising that the Independent Press has had to reprint *"A Talk About Forgiveness"* by James Reid (Paper, 6d.). It is a very meaty little pamphlet on a vital subject.

When a writer tells you that the verse, "And they took a stone, and put it under him, and he sat thereon", (Exod. 17, 12), means "Moses now based his thinking on the divine infinite calculus", it makes the reader wonder how far a foolish ingenuity can go in handling the Bible. If he reads Sir Aylmer Firebrace's *"If Thou Criest After Knowledge"* (Allen & Unwin, 25s.) he will learn; and a most depressing experience it will be.

It is rarely that one comes across anything so fresh and fascinating as *"Pioneers of the New World"* by Elsie H. Spriggs, (Religious Education Press, 5s. 6d.). We are given 10 vivid biographical studies of Christian founders of Canada and the U.S.A. The dust-cover, end map and illustrations are all as excellent as the text.

One's instinctive alarm on approaching a retold "Pilgrim's Progress" is considerably allayed by the very appearance of *"The Pilgrim's Progress Retold for Boys and Girls"* by R. G. Martin (Independent Press, 7s. 6d.). The Press is to be warmly congratulated on dressing the book so attractively. Mr. Martin is to be congratulated on his courage and on his undoubted success; and a portion of praise must go to T. R. Williams for his remarkable illustrations.

The Epworth Press does great service in printing a course of six talks on Church History, *"The Church Across the Ages"*, (Paper, 3s. 6d.), edited by Cecil Northcott. We look in on six vital periods through the eyes of representatives of five denominations.

Other Broadcast Talks, given in the Lift Up Your Hearts Programme, are now printed as *"The Love of the Father"* by H. F. Lovell Cocks and *"As thy Days"* by Maurice Watts (Independent Press, paper, 1s. each). They are attractive booklets, both within and without.

The National Adult School Union is to be congratulated on its Study Handbook for 1953 *"What Is Man?"* (Paper, 3s., cloth 4s.). Human achievements are widely surveyed, the Biblical material is given an adequate place, there are biographical and topical studies of great interest and the student is continually referred to worthwhile and up-to-date books.

JOHN WILDING.

Rita Snowden has written a beautiful book *Sung in our Hearts* (Epworth Press, 7s. 6d.). It is not really "a study in the Psalms", as the sub-title affirms, but a series of meditations prompted by some of the classic phrases of the Psalms. They are marked by spiritual insight and have bearing on the needs of people today. The six illustrations are unconventional, but very effective. E. C. BLACKMAN.

Mental Health and the Psycho-neuroses. By J. A. HADFIELD. 176 pp. Allen & Unwin. 10s.

Here is a book which can be most heartily commended to all who are concerned with Mental Health, and with helping others to achieve it. Many similar works have been produced from time to time, but none has given a clearer and sounder presentation of what Mental Health and Psycho-neuroses mean. Dr. Hadfield has abridged in a most helpful manner his earlier work "Psychology and Mental Health". It is written simply and offers an eclectic point of view with which few can quarrel. His approach to delinquency, and to the different forms of neurosis, is concise and understandable even for those who have read little about the subject in which he has been one of the foremost pioneers. For ministers this book is indispensible, in as much as it will aid them in assessing human behaviour and in helping members of their congregations. W. E. SARGENT.

Selected List of Illustrative Material (1s. 6d.) and *Study Outline on the Fourth Gospel* (1s.) are publications of the Institute of Christian Education. The former is useful for all departments in the Sunday School or Day School, while the latter is for the older boys and girls.

The Vest Pocket Moffatt New Testament (Hodder & Stoughton, 7s. 6d.) would be an admirable gift from parent or teacher to young men and women joining the Forces. It is printed in small but clear type on India paper. A. R. V.

Sanctuary. By ROBERT DUCE. Speedwell Plays, Independent Press. 1s. 6d.

This is a Biblical Play with a difference. The plot is based upon the story of "the woman taken in adultery." In the Bible we leave her as one over whom the word of 'forgiveness' has been spoken by Jesus. This play takes up her story from that point, and shows in a finely dramatic way and with deep religious insight what forgiveness means and involves in real life situations.

The characters of the play are seven women and its acting time is given as 35 minutes. It would be a great service to the Church if this play were brought to the notice of the leaders of our Women's Work.

JASON S. WRIGHT.

ALSO RECEIVED

Three Nativity Plays by Gladys Littlechild, Methuen, 2s. 6d. each:

The Cradle and Throne. 12 men, 1 woman, supers.

Mary of Nazareth. 16 men, 3 women, supers.

Of Such is the Kingdom. 15 men, 8 women, supers.

MISCELLANEA

Hannah More. By M. G. Jones. 284 pp. C.U.P. 27s. 6d.

Hannah More was nicknamed "Nine" (after all the Muses) by David Garrick, and dubbed "the old Bishop in petticoats" by William Cobbett. To Mrs. Thrale she was "the cleverest of all us female wits", and Samuel Johnson referred to her (no doubt with emphasis on the gender) as "the most powerful versificatrix in the English language". In the course of her long life (1745-1833) Hannah knew or was known to 'everybody'. She was a best-seller with little or no talent for literature; a Tory with a passion for reform; an Evangelical Anglican accused by Churchmen of Methodism. At first sight she appears a bundle of contradictions. In fact she was a woman of independent mind; in literature a frank propagandist; in politics a simple humanitarian, while in religion "she decided for herself the relation of 'Christian godliness' to 'Christian order' ".

This scholarly revaluation of her life and works, by the author of *The Charity School Movement*, is based largely on published and unpublished letters and diaries. Dr. Jones provides in addition a bibliography of Hannah More's writings, four portraits, and a map showing the situation of her pioneer schools in the Mendips.

Reflections on Life and Religion. By Sir James Baillie. 288 pp. Allen & Unwin. 16s.

Sir James Baillie, an authority on Hegel and for fifteen years Vice-Chancellor of the University of Leeds, left twelve notebooks, labelled "Privatissima", containing his day-to-day reflections from 1893 to his death in 1940. This volume, piously edited by Sir Walter Moberly and Professor Oliver de Selincourt, consists of selections from these notebooks, varying in length from a few words to a few pages, and arranged under the general headings of "Religion", "Human Nature and Conduct" and "The World and our Knowledge of it".

In spite of their title, Sir James's notebooks contain nothing private, and indeed nothing personal. Formally they may perhaps best be compared with Pascal's *Pensées* and, like all such works, they are apt to be repetitive and contradictory, yet—in small doses—irresistibly fascinating to read.

P. A. Spalding.

Near the Brink. By L. P. Jacks. 120 pp. Allen & Unwin. 12s. 6d.

Dr. Jacks is now a nonagenarian, but his intellectual eye appears to be undimmed. He looks back over a long life and detects a pattern in it, as well he may. Many of these essays are concerned with warning us that by rearmament we are heading for war, and that if you want peace, it is a mistake to prepare for war. The first essay, more touching in my judgment than convincing, was evoked by the death of his wife; in the second he tells of his ever-growing love of light and suggests that, if, as some scientists maintain, light is the stuff of the universe, the philosophy of Spinoza is good science. Men write and preach about Truth and Goodness: why do they forget Beauty? Dr. Jacks keeps on his table a lovely West Indian shell: "I keep it before me as a reminder of God, a visible proof of his existence and a revelation of one at least of his attributes, perhaps the chief and source of all the others". He finds it impossible to believe that so great and intricate beauty was created just for the benefit of the whelk that lived inside.

N. Micklem.

The Corrupting Influence of Power. By GERHARD RITTER. Tower Bridge Publications. 197 pp. 21s.

In this admirable and timely book (published first in German under the Nazi régime) Dr. Gerhard Ritter, who is professor of Modern History at the University of Freiburg-im-Breisgau, describes the two European political traditions which may be described as the Machiavellian and the Utopian. He analyses the ideas of Machiavelli and Sir Thomas More in detail and in two brilliant chapters, which account for about half of the book, describes the historical consequences of the contrast, especially between the liberal tradition of Britain (of which, like other Germans such as Kantorowicz, he is an admirer) and nineteenth century developments in Germany as formed by Hegel and Treitschke, pointing out that even German liberals of the Bismarckian era shared in, for example, Ranke's high idea of the supreme importance of the state. More Dr. Ritter regards as one of the forerunners of the liberalism which has remained the hall-mark of British policy.

Dr. Ritter supports the idea of the *Rechtsstaat* as opposed to that of the *Machtstaat,* and makes penetrating criticisms of the latter. This is a book that should be read. Dr. G. P. Gooch, whose knowledge of German history is familiar to readers of his *Studies in Modern History* and *Studies in Modern German History,* has written an admirable introduction. The translation, by Dr. F. W. Pick, is also admirable.

Stalin versus Marx By KLAUS MEHNERT. 127 pp. Gollancz. 8s. 6d.

Dr. Mehnert's book on the new orientation in Soviet historical studies is brief, pungent, well-informed, and alarming. He shows, by citing from a wealth of recent Russian publications, that the Marxist economic interpretation of history has been virtually abandoned since 1934 in favour of a Messianic nationalism. Soviet history, it appears, no longer begins with 1917 but with the Chaldeans and Assyrians. Russian conquests were never conquests, but the voluntary absorption of other peoples (e.g. the Kazaks). The directive for this new idea of history was Stalin's Five Letters. Marxism now appears to be no more than a formal slogan; what we are confronted with is a new version of The Russian World-Mission about which Dostoievsky wrote at length in his *Journal of a Writer,* and which is not far removed from the Nationalist *Blut und Boden* romanticism. GERAINT V. JONES.

The Dilemma of our Times (George Allen and Unwin, pp. 272, 18s.) by H. J. Laski, unfinished at the time of his death, was intended to revise and bring up to date the too optimistic historical judgments of the author's *Faith, Reason and Civilization,* published in 1944, in which the general movement to the left of opinion in Europe and America was held to be evidence that the new social and political values had finally displaced the old. But the prophecies based upon the presumption of Russian co-operation with the West were not fulfilled, 'the cold war' developed in intensity, and the struggle in Asia showed that the gap which Laski had believed to be narrowing was in fact widening dangerously. This book appears to have begun as a supplementary chapter but became a supplementary volume to the earlier work. Friends and students of the writer will be grateful to his literary executors for deciding to print his unfinished script.

British Planning and Nationalization (George Allen and Unwin, pp. ix, 313, 24s.) by Prof. Ben. W. Lewis is a description of measures taken by the Labour Government between 1945 and 1951 to control the economic life of the nation. It has the peculiar advantage for British readers of having been written by an American expert for American readers. Prof. Lewis has no

party axe to grind or wield. Two introductory chapters on "Economic Planning" and "The Issue of Nationalization" are followed by detailed accounts of what was done in various key industries—coal, transport, electricity, iron and steel, housing and agriculture. There are chapters on Town and Country planning, the distribution of industry and the National Health services. The book is thus a useful summary, calm and factual, of the revolution in Britain effected by the Labour Government. The one important omission is that there is no discussion of the purely financial basis of the Welfare State, and the writer, like the rest of us, waits for the day to declare whether the edifice has been built of gold, silver, costly stones, wood, hay or stubble.

One of the great adventure stories of the sea was of the drift of a raft of balsa wood with six young men aboard from the coast of South America till it was wrecked on the reef of the tiny island of Rarioa in the south Pacific. Two years later Mr. Bengt Danielsson, one of the fortunate six, with his wife returned for a holiday to *The Happy Island* (Allen and Unwin, pp. 252, 15s.). His book describes the idyllic life of the small primitive community, where life is simple, easy and gay, but where the infant mortality is 220 per thousand and syphilis is universal. Contact with civilization is having its usual effects and the author wonders how much longer the island will retain the charm and freedom he describes. There are excellent photographs. J. MILLS PHILLIPS.

All the plates in the "New Oxford Illustrated Dickens" have been remade from the original drawings which appeared in the first edition. *Our Mutual Friend* (O.U.P., 12s. 6d.), the latest volume in the series, contains forty illustrations by Marcus Stone and an Introduction by Mr. E Salter Davies. Beautifully produced, and easy to hold in spite of its more than 800 pages, this book is remarkably cheap at its price. P. A. SPALDING.

Pitkins Royal Pictorials are well known. Two of their recent publications deserve mention in view of the Coronation. The first, *H.M. Queen Elizabeth and H.R.H. the Duke of Edinburgh and their children,* is the second volume on this theme, but is none the less complete in itself. Its 78 pages are for the most part filled with photographs—over 160 of them—excellently reproduced on good paper, and in good taste. The text, brief but intimate and informative, is by Margaret Saville. The other is titled *The Coronation Gift Book for Boys and Girls.* In 80 fully illustrated pages Malcolm Saville gives a lucid account of the history, procedure and meaning of the Coronation. Although addressed to young people, the book contains information, illustrations and diagrams which older folk will also find of fascinating interest. Each of these books is priced at 8s. 6d.

An Iona Anthology, by F. Marian McNeill (Iona Community, Glasgow, 5s.), is a new edition of a collection first published in 1947. A brief introduction is followed by a selection in prose and verse of extracts linked directly or indirectly with the past and present of this most notable of islets. St. Columba and Fiona Macleod naturally figure prominently, but the net sweeps wide and there is much varied treasure.

The Book of Garden Flowers, by G. A. R. Phillips (Warne, 12s. 6d.), is a valuable addition to the Wayside and Woodland series of nature lovers' guides. Though designed to be just small enough to fit a jacket pocket, its 240 pages contain a mass of authoritative and well arranged information. To the expert it will prove an agreeable vade mecum, while to the beginner it will be a mine of accessible information. No less than 320 coloured illustrations assist identification, and there are indexes of both popular and botanical names.

On Writing, Reading and Literary Appreciation, by W. N. Brown (John Sherratt, Altrincham, 16s.), is a useful "practical and cultural guide" intended for young writers. The author is a well known journalist, and his book would be helpful to teachers and others interested in adult education work.

The Fellowship of Reconciliation has published two pamphlets bearing on urgent current problems: *Neglected Factors in the East-West Conflict* by E. L. Allen, price 1s., deals with Russia, and *South Africa, Fellowship or Fear?* by Gladys M. Jeffery, price 6d., deals with *apartheid*.

A. R. V.

MINISTRY OF EDUCATION

NOTICE

In the Matter of the Foundation called THE CONGREGATIONAL INSTITUTE FOR THEOLOGICAL AND MISSIONARY TRAINING (otherwise known as PATON CONGREGATIONAL COLLEGE), and the Matter of various subsidiary endowments held in connection therewith.

In the Matter of the Charitable Trusts Acts, 1853 to 1925; and the Board of Education (Powers) Orders in Council, 1900 to 1902.

By direction of the Minister of Education, NOTICE is hereby given that an Order is proposed to be made by him after the expiration of one calendar month from the date of this Notice removing, at their own request, the following from being the Trustees of the above-named Foundation and of the said subsidiary endowments:

WALTER JOHN HICKLING
ERIC BERNARD ARMITAGE
ERIC HENRY HARLOW
ALARIC WILLIAM BAGGALEY
HERBERT GEORGE CHAPMAN
HERBERT SYDNEY HOBSON
NORMAN RILEY HOWITT
WILLIAM RODERICK MAURICE MANN
HENRY THORNTON MASSER
RONALD KEYNES ROSS
ERNEST ALFRED BUXTON
JAMES ORAM DOBSON
JAMES WILLIAM FRANCIS HILL
ALEXANDER GEORGE WILLIAM HOLT
WILLIAM HENRY KING
WILLIAM WALLACE LAWRENCE
WALTER DANIEL MASON
PHILLIP MOFFAT ROBINSON
WILLIAM PALMER
ROY GALBRAITH HENDERSON

and appointing as Trustee in their place

THE CONGREGATIONAL UNION OF ENGLAND AND WALES (INCORPORATED).

Any objection to the proposed Order, or suggestion for its modification, should be made in writing, within 21 days from the date of this Notice, and addressed to "The Secretary, Ministry of Education (Legal Branch), Curzon Street, London, W.1," quoting the following reference No. U. 1458 Z/41.

Dated 7th April, 1953.

PERIODICAL PUBLICATIONS

Hibbert Journal (Jan.). Dr. Inge in 'Russian Theology' calls for more attention to the work of Orthodox theologians, especially Frank, and Sir John Stewart-Wallace writes of the light that may yet come from the East in 'Vedanta and the West.' In 'Myth and the Gospel' Prof. S. G. F. Brandon writes of Bultmann's new work in N.T. criticism, and Dr. G. H. Boobyer writes on 'New Testament Perfectionism and Christian Citizenship'. Dr. E. G. Ballard is interesting on 'Towards a Philosophy of Literature', and Mr. John Custance has a remarkable paper on 'Philosophical Reflections of a Lunatic'.

International Review of Missions (Jan.). Miss Margaret Sinclair writes the invaluable 'Survey of the Year 1952' (68 pages). Rev. W. O. Fitch writes on 'The Christian in the Totalitarian State'; Rev. H. R. T. Brandreth on 'Reflections after Lund' and Mr. Wm. A. Smalley on 'Missionary Language Learning'.

The Modern Churchman (Dec.) has 'Simone Weil' by the late Rev. J. C. Hardwick; 'Religion in the Light of Mental Adaptation' by Mr. G. M. N. Tyrrell; 'The Dead Sea Scrolls' by Prof. H. F. D. Sparks; 'The Meaning of Incarnation' by Prof. E. L. Allen and 'Two Jesuits' (Hopkins and Tyrrell) by Rev. Ralph Gardner. The Editor discusses *Memoranda* submitted to the Royal Commission on Divorce.

London Quarterly and Holborn Reiew (Jan.) has a round dozen articles, including Rev. Henry Hogarth on 'The Mystery of Molinos'; Dr. R. A. Letch on 'Physical and Spiritual'; Rev. T. D. Meadley on 'Attack on the Theatre'.

Friends Quarterly (Jan.) is devoted to topics arising out of the recent World Conference. Mr. Reginald A. Smith writes on 'Theology in Quakerism'. 'July in Durban' by Mr. Frank Harris of Durban University is good on the native independent churches of South Africa.

Expository Times (Dec.). Principal P. S. Watson writes on H. R. Mackintosh's *The Person of Jesus Christ'*; Dr. N. H. G. Robinson on 'The Importance of P. T. Forsyth', and Rev. W. R. Hutton on 'The Kingdom of God has come'. (Jan.). Rev. F. H. Durnforth writes on 'Hymnology and the Doctrine of the Holy Spirit'; Rev. Gordon Rupp on Moberley's *Atonement and Personality;* Dr. George Ogg on 'A New Chronology of Saint Paul's Life'. (Feb.). Dr. A. R. Vine on 'Relton's *A Study in Christology';* Dr. A. W. Sloan on Science and Religion, 'From the Scientist's Point of View'; Dr. C. E. Raven on 'The Ministry of Women'. (March.) Rev. D. Nineham on 'The Christology of Hodgson's *Doctrine of the Trinity;* Rev. R. W. Stewart on 'Jesus' Own Thoughts about His Death'.

Review of Religion (Nov.) has 'Universal Religion' by Prof. Martin P. Nilsson; 'The Mela at Kankalitalla'—an eye witness account of a great Indian religious festival by Prof. Kurt Leidecker; 'Hinayana and Religious Paradox'—a review of Dr. Slater's book, *Paradox and Nirvana* by Prof. Ed. J. Machle; and a review article by Prof. Katz of *Time and Eternity* by Dr. W. T. Stace. There are the usual excellent reviews and book notes.

Evangelical Quarterly (Jan.) has 'Thoughts on the Composition of the Pentateuch' by Dr. J. Stafford Wright; 'The Problem of Suffering and the Book of Job' by Mr. R. K. Harrison; 'Reformation Yesterday and Today' by Rev. Austin Fulton; 'The Modern Eschatological Debate' (part one) by Dr. T. F. Torrance.

Yale Review (Winter) includes 'The Anomaly of European Socialism' by Prof. Reinhold Niebuhr; 'The Intellectual Climate of Asia' by Dr. George E. Taylor; 'What the Russians have learned in Korea' by Major James Campbell; 'The Nausea of Satre' by Mrs. Margaret Walker; 'Britain and the United States' by Prof. Raymond English.

Harvard Theological Review (Oct.) is devoted to 'The Roman Army and the Roman Religious Year', a long discussion (62 pages) of the Feriale discovered at Dura-Europos, by Professor A. D. Nock; and 'Deus Per Naturam, Deus Per Gratiam', suggested by the recently published *The Norman Anonymous of* 1100 *A.D.*, by Prof. Ernest Kantorowicz.

Huntington Library Quarterly has 'Haley Heron: Elizabethan Essayist and Euphist' by Prof. Virgil B. Heltzel; 'Montaigne and Shakespeare Again' by Miss Margaret T. Hodgen; 'More Tears for Lord Hastings' by Prof. H. T. Swedenberg; 'Sir Walter's Last Long Poem' by Prof. J. T. Hillhouse. Mr. J. E. Pomfret edits the interesting 'Letters of Fred Lockley, Union Soldier, 1864-65'.

Theology Today (Jan.) discusses Willingen and Lund in its Editorial. It has 'Social and Cultural Factors in our Divisions' by Dean J. L. Hromadka; 'The Indigenous Expansion of the Christian Church' by Mr. Alexander McLeish; 'Church and Religion in Present-day Scotland' by Prof. Norman V. Hope; 'Can the Churches give a Common Message to the World?' by Bishop Leslie Newbigin. J. M. P.